

THE *11 Kg*
WHOLE WORKS

OF THE REVEREND

ROBERT MILLAR, A. M.

LATE MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL IN PAISLEY,

IN EIGHT VOLUMES,

VOL. V.

PAISLEY:

PRINTED BY JOHN NEILSON, FOR ROBERT REID.

M. DCC. LXXXIX.

THE
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH
UNDER THE
OLD TESTAMENT,
FROM

The Creation of the World:

WHEREIN ALSO

The Affairs and Learning of Heathen Nations, before the Birth of CHRIST, and the State of the Jews, from the BABYLONISH Captivity to the present Time, are particularly considered.

To which is subjoined,

A DISCOURSE

TO PROMOTE THE CONVERSION

OF THE JEWS TO CHRISTIANITY.

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JOHN WILKINSON

ROBERT MILLAR, A.M.

LATE MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL IN PALESTINE

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.
THE FIRST VOLUME CONTAINS
A HISTORY OF THE
JEWISH NATION

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A.D. 1000 TO 1099

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§ 96. **T**HE faith of this history concerning our Saviour is not only secured by the records of the evangelic historians, justified by authentic witnesses, the evidence of miracles, and the consent of all ages; but as to the substance, is also confirmed by the plain confession of heathens and Jews, enemies to Christianity, as I have in another essay * demonstrated, and shall not here repeat, but rather remit the reader to what hath been there advanced. The third day after our Lord's burial he rose again, appeared to, and conversed with his disciples and followers, and after

* History of the Propagation of Christianity, chap. 1.

he had comforted and instructed his people, taken care of his church, and given a fuller commission and larger instructions to his apostles, he blessed them, and took his leave of them, visibly ascending up into heaven, where he ^b sat down on the right hand of God, as head over all things to the church, angels, principalities, and powers being made subject to him. What the apostles did and suffered to propagate Christianity over the world, and with what success this work was advanced, I have also elsewhere ^c declared.

I might here consider several objections raised by the Jews and others against the history of the evangelists: But many of them are trifling, others have been already obviated and removed, in several places of this work ^a; and such as are curious to see particular and (I hope) satisfying answers given to those difficulties, may consult the learned Spanheim ^e, and the learned Dr. Kidder ^f, who have considered many of them at a great length. There is only one head of objections, I mean those concerning our Lord's genealogy, that I think myself obliged briefly to notice, because they appear at first view to be of some moment; and also because having considered the difficulties in the Old Testament chronology ^g, it seems proper to consider those of the same kind in the gospel; and I shall have further occasion to discourse of the controversies with the Jews near the end of this work.

Since

^a History of the Propagation of Christianity, chap. 3. ^c Ibid. ^d See Vol. IV. p. 361, 402, 407, 408, 413. & passim. ^e Dubia Evangelica.

^f Demonstration of the Messiah, part 2, and 3. ^g See Chap. 1. & passim.

Since the Messias was to proceed, not only of the tribe of Judah, but also of the family of David, the evangelists found it necessary to prove this point: But though there should be difficulties on this head, these afford no ground to question the truth of the Christian religion; for our Lord hath given sufficient demonstrations that he is Christ the Son of God, by the mighty works which he did, and by his glorious resurrection from the dead. There are many thorny questions in the Old Testament, particularly in the chronology, and yet both Jews and Christians receive the books thereof with great veneration; and the difficulties in this genealogy are not so great, but the same may be easily removed. The Evangelist Matthew, chap. i. represents the pedigree of our Lord, as man, in three remarkable portions of time, each of which contain fourteen generations. The first of them is bounded within the lower and growing condition of the Israelites, in the age of the patriarchs and judges, till the temple was built; the second contains their exalted state under kings, and the third their declining state after the Babylonish captivity. This leads me to the first exception, "That though St. Matthew reckons fourteen generations in each of these three Tesseradecades, yet in the third there are only thirteen. To this it is answered, That if it be granted, that Jeconias, named by Matthew i. 11. is a distinct person from Jeconias in ver. 12. the first the son, and the second the grandson of king Josiah, the difficulty will be entirely removed. Now, it is reasonable to own that it is so: For we find in 2 kings, xxiv. 6, 8, 15. a particular account of

this younger Jeconias, called also Jehoiachin the son of Jehoiakim; and there is reason to think that he is omitted in the genealogy. Besides, the evangelist seems to distinguish them; for in Matth. i. 11. 'tis said, *Josias begat Jeconias and his brethren*. Now the younger Jeconias, or Jehoiachin, had no brethren. In the old translation of our English Bibles, and in the margin of some of our present Bibles, it reads, *Josias begat Jakim, and Jakim begat Jeconias*. This was long ago the opinion of Jerom^b; and the younger Jeconias being put at the head of the third class in the genealogy, there is no difficulty to own him to be a distinct generation. And thus in each Tesseradecade there are fourteen generations¹.

A second exception is, That the evangelist Matthew, i. 12. says *Jeconias begat Salathiel*, which is alledged not to agree with Jer. xxii. 30. where the prophet declareth *that Coniah should be childless*. To this I answer, there is no disagreement at all; for 'tis said expressly, 1 Chron. iii. 17. *that Jeconiah begat Salathiel*. As for the words of Jeremiah, the sense of them is plainly given by the prophet himself in the text cited, *Write ye this man childless; no man of his seed shall prosper, sitting upon the throne of David; and ruling any more in Judah*: That is, his children shall not succeed him in his throne and dignity.

Thirdly, It is excepted, That Matthew says *Salathiel begat Zerubabel*, whereas it appears that Zerubabel was the grandson of Salathiel, 1 Chron. iii. 19. by Pedaiah his immediate father. But it is

^b Hieronymus in Daniele, cap. I.

¹ Kidder's Demonstration of the

Messias, part 2. p. 346.

is very usual in scripture for grandchildren to be called sons or daughters to their grandfathers. Thus, in Genesis xxxi. 28. Laban says to Jacob, *Thou hast not suffered me to kiss my sons and daughters; that is, my grandchildren.*

Fourthly, It is excepted, That the evangelist Matthew, i. 13. says, *Zerubabel begat Abiud*, though in 1 Chron. iii. 19. where the sons of Zerubabel are reckoned up, there is no such person as Abiud named. There is no difficulty in what is here alledged: For it is very well known, that many persons have different names given them upon various occasions in the Old Testament, as Dan. i. 6, 7. And we may safely suppose, that Abiud in 1 Chron. iii. 19. is mentioned under the name of Meshullam.

Fifthly, it is advanced, That whereas St. Matthew, i. 8. tells, *Joram begat Ozias*, this cannot be; for it appears from the Old Testament, that there were three kings between Joram and Ozias, viz. *Abaziah, Joash, and Amaziah*, which will make more than fourteen descents in that interval. Answer, The evangelist doth not say that there were only fourteen descents from David to the Babylonish captivity; for in Matth. i. 17. he says, *All [ᾠαῖ] the generations from Abraham to David are fourteen generations; but when he comes to the second interval, from David till the carrying away into Babylon, he omits the word ᾠαῖ, all, and says only, There are fourteen generations.* But further, the omission of these three kings does no way disagree with the design of the apostle, which is to shew that Christ was descended of the seed of David by Solomon and the rest of the kings of

Judah of that race, down to the captivity: In order to make his three classes agree together, it was necessary that some should be omitted; and it was as proper to leave out these three of the posterity of Joram, who had married a daughter of the house of Ahab, 2 Kings viii. 18. 2 Chron. xxi. 6, 7. and brought in idolatry into the kingdom of Judah, as any other.

Sixthly, It is excepted, How comes the evangelist Luke, iii. 36. to insert a second Cainan between Sala and Arphaxad, when in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament there is no such person in that part of the genealogy? See Genesis x. 24. and xi. 12. Answer, as to this point, we need only observe, that the seventy interpreters, who before our Saviour's time translated the Old Testament into Greek, for reasons best known to themselves, inserted that Cainan; and St. Luke writing among the Hellenist Jews and Gentiles, who understood the Greek language, was obliged to make use of that translation which they had among their hands, and therefore took it as he found it, citing the words of those translators without any observation or remarks upon them. Some authors^k add, That the evangelist doth not oblige the wary reader to conclude that this Cainan was really the son of Arphaxad; for propounding to himself to set down our Saviour's ancestors, were they really so, or commonly so reputed, he begins thus, speaking of Jesus, Luke iii. 23. *being, as was supposed, (ὡς ἐνομίζετο) the son of Joseph, of Eli, &c.* But I have spoken of this more fully in a former part^m of this work.

Seventhly,

^k Kidder's Demonstration of the Messiah, part 2. p. 364, 365.
vol. 1. p. 138.—142.

^m See

Seventhly, It is excepted, "That the genealogy of our Lord in Matthew and in Luke do not agree together." But the reason of any differences that can be pretended is, that Matthew goes no higher than Abraham, but Luke brings the genealogy as high as Adam. The former designed to shew, that Christ was the son of Abraham, the promised seed, *in whom all the families of the earth are blessed*, and that he was heir to the throne of David; and therefore he begins with Abraham, and carries down the pedigree to Jacob, who was the father of Joseph, an heir-male of the house of David: But the latter, designing to shew that Christ was *the seed of the woman*, that should *break the serpent's head*, traceth his pedigree, as man, upwards as high as Adam, beginning with Eli, who was the father, not of Joseph, but of the Virgin Mary the mother of our Lord. One reckons from Solomon to Christ, and the other keeps in the family of Nathan, another of David's sons, and brother of Solomon: So that, by not keeping the same line there is a pleasant diversity, but no contrariety between the evangelists. If it be further urged, "That what the evangelists have done on this head is nothing to the purpose, because they give us only the descent of Joseph, who was not the real, but only the reputed father of Jesus, as all Christians grant," I answer, That it was fit that Matthew should give us the genealogy of Joseph, who was looked upon by the Jews as the father of Jesus; and therefore it was necessary that Joseph should be acknowledged to be of the tribe of Judah, and of the family of David, that the Jews might have no pretence to reject our

our Lord: For he being born of the wife of Joseph, even while her husband was living, without the assistance of any other man, the privileges that belonged to Joseph, did redound to him: And this was also necessary, because the Jews were not wont to draw genealogies by the mother's side. But besides, it is evident that the blessed Virgin was of the family of David; for the evangelist, Luke ii. 26, 27. tells us, *That the angel Gabriel was sent from God to a city of Galilee named Nazareth, to a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David, and the virgin's name was Mary. And Joseph went up from Galilee unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem, because he was of the house and lineage of David, to be taxed, with Mary his espoused wife, being great with child, Luke ii. 4, 3.* Thus our Lord, both by his real mother and reputed father, was of the tribe of Judah, and seed of David; and these difficulties concerning his genealogy do all disappear, nor have the Jews any ground to triumph on that account. But I proceed with our history.

§ 97. That which I have now in my view, is to carry on an account of the Jews, whereby it will appear that the predictions of our Lord in Matth. xxiv. and Luke xix. and the desolation spoken of by Daniel ix. v. last, the threatenings of the law of Moses, and the vengeance they did imprecate upon themselves, when at crucifying our Saviour, they cried, Matth. xxvii. 25. *His blood be upon us and on our children,* were all signally accomplished in the destruction of their city, temple, and nation. But before I come to these calamities, it will be proper to notice the affairs of the Jews after the death of our Lord.

Philip

Philip the son of Herod the Great, who, for thirty-seven years had been tetrarch of Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, and Batanæa, on the east side of Jordan, died in the twentieth year of Tiberius's reign^a. During all the time of his government he behaved himself very peaceably, having his ordinary residence within his own province, far from public business. He expired at Julias, where he was buried with magnificence in a sepulchre which himself had caused to be built. Leaving no male heirs behind him, the emperor seized his estate, and annexed it to the government of Syria.

L. Vitellius, who had been the preceding year consul at Rome, being sent this year to be proconsul in Syria, came up to Jerusalem in the time of the passover, where being magnificently entertained, that he might gain the favour of the Jews, he forgave them all the tribute due upon the fruits that had been sold^b; and allowed the robes and other ornaments of the high-priests to be kept by the priests in the temple, which before had been in the custody of the Roman captain who commanded in the tower of Antonia; and having deposed Joseph, surnamed Caiaphas, he made Jonathan the son of Annas high-priest in his room, and returned to Antioch.

§ 98. Herod Agrippa, who is mentioned in the New Testament^c, makes a more early appearance in the Jewish history, than in the sacred. He was grandson to Herod the Great, by Aristobulus the son of Mariamne; and thus, by his grandmother was descended of the royal race of the Asmonæans.

^a A. D. 35. ^b Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18 cap 6. ^c Idem, ibid. ^d Acts, xii. 2.

monarchs. His father had married Berenice, daughter to Salome his aunt, who was so wicked as to contrive and effectuate the death of her son-in-law, because he had spoken to her disadvantage¹. Upon his father's death, Agrippa was left a minor, under the tuition of his mother, who educated him at Rome, whither she had gone with her mother Salome², to maintain her son's right before the emperor Augustus; who having an esteem for her, and she having there contracted a friendship with Antonia the wife of Drusus, this gave rise afterwards to her son's promotion. Agrippa after his mother's death came to Judea, where he married Cypros his cousin; but by his prodigal way of living, by great gifts to the emperor's freed men at Rome, and by great expences in Judea, he had run himself into great debts; for which, being attacked by his creditors, he retired to the castle of Malatha³ in Idumea, thinking there to cut himself off: But Cypros his wife did contribute as far as she was able to relieve him in his straits, and to prevent any bad designs. In order to this, she wrote to Herodias the wife of Herod the tetrarch, entreating her assistance, who by her interest with her husband, got a lodging assigned to her brother Agrippa in the city Tiberias, with a small revenue for his support, and the honour of being magistrate in that town. While Agrippa was at an entertainment in Tyre, the tetrarch spoke of his poverty, and living at his charge, in such terms, as the former not being able to bear it, he retired from the tetrarch's territories, and put himself under

¹ See p. 378. ² See p. 393. ³ *Jos. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 8.*

under the protection of Flaccus, then president of Syria, with whom he had been acquainted at Rome. But losing his favour, he went to Ptolemais, where he obliged Marfyas his freed man, to lend him 20,000 Attic drachms, with which he resolved to go to Rome: But when he was to take ship at Anthedon, Herennius Capito, the procurator of Jamnia, there attacked him for 300,000 drachms he owed to Cæsar's treasurer. He promised payment, but not being able to perform, in the night time he sailed off to Alexandria, where he applied himself to Alexander the Alabarcha for the loan of a considerable sum, who, out of regard to his wife, gave him five talents in ready money, promising him credit for a greater sum at Puteoli.

Agrippa leaving his wife and children in Judea, failed to Italy*, where Antonia the mother of Germanicus, and Claudius, who was afterwards emperor, lent him 300,000 drachms, with which he paid the debt that he owed to Herennius Capito, and by her interest he was also admitted into favour with the emperor Tiberius, then leading a wretched lustful life in the isle Capreae. Being admitted into the friendship of Caius Caligula, afterwards emperor, he lent him 1000000 drachms, with which he paid the sum he owed to Antonia, and lived merrily upon the remainder. But one day being in a coach, Agrippa said rashly, that he wished Tiberius would surrender the empire to Caius as the better man. This being told to the old emperor by one Eutychus, Agrippa was bound
with

with chains, and made prisoner for six months, under the custody of one Macron. Antonia, tho' she could not procure his release, yet had such interest with his keeper, as to make his prison easy; and we shall hear of him afterwards.

Mean time Herod the tetrarch having offended Aretas king of Arabia Petraea, by putting away his daughter who for several years had been his wife, and making an incestuous match with Herodias, his brother Philip's wife; and there being a contention between them about the limits of their dominions, the controversy came to be decided by a war; wherein Herod's army was entirely overthrown. Josephus tells us^t, "That Herod's overthrow was in the opinion of several Jews, the just vengeance of God punishing him for the execution which he had caused to be done on John, surnamed the Baptist, who, being a good man, excited the people to study the virtues of piety and righteousness, exhorting them to be baptized; and telling them, that if they would please God, they must abstain from all iniquity, and purify their soul and body for his service. And whereas, many flocked to hear his doctrine, Herod fearing a revolt, thought it better to prevent mischief, by putting him to death, than to wait for some commotion, which he might afterwards repent of."

§ 99. While Agrippa was in prison, the emperor Tiberius died on the 26th of March^{*}, in the 78th year of his age, after he had reigned, from the death of Augustus, twenty-two years, seven months^u, seven days.

Caius

^t Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 7. ^{*} A. D. 37. ^u Suetonius in Tiberio, cap. 73. Dion Cassius, lib. 58. in fine.

Caius Caligula being advanced to govern the empire *, a few days after his accession, sent for Agrippa out of prison to his own house, ordering him to be trimmed, and his garments changed, he set a diadem upon his head †, causing him to be made king of Philip's tetrarchy, to which that of Lyfania was annexed, and changed his chain of iron into one of gold of the same weight, and sent Marullus to be procurator of Judea. In the same year, being the first of Caligula's reign, Josephus the Jewish historian, son of Mattathias the priest ‡, was born.

Next year * Cypros the wife of king Herod Agrippa did bear him a daughter, named Drusilla, who was afterwards married to Felix, Acts xxiv. 24. She was only six † years old when her father died.

In the same year, being the second of Caligula, Agrippa asked leave to go to Judea, to give necessary orders concerning his kingdom, promising to return again as soon as he had dispatched some important affairs; which being granted, he came home to his own country, where he was saluted king †, which few people in the time of his affliction ever expected to have seen.

Flaccus, at that time Roman governor in Egypt, having endeavoured to set up statues and images of the emperor in the Jewish synagogues and Proseuchæ, of which they had a great number at Alexandria, and over the whole kingdom, thereby occasioned

* Dion Cassius, lib. 59. p. 734. † Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 8. Euseb. in Chronico. Vide etiam Dion Cassius, lib. 59. p. 741. ‡ Joseph. de vita sua. * A. D. 38. † Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 7. & lib. 19. cap. ultimo. † Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 8. in fine.

occasioned a great commotion; wherein many of these synagogues were burnt up^c, or pulled down. Complaints of Flaccus's insolence were sent to king Agrippa, and by him to Rome: But more noise of this affair, and of another of the like nature in Judea itself, will offer next year.

§ 100. Herodias the wife of Herod the tetrarch, and sister of Agrippa, could not bear it that her brother, who had been under such debt and poverty, as to be supported for some time at her husband's charges, should now return from Rome honoured with the dignity and power of a king, while her husband, the son of Herod the Great, was only a tetrarch; and therefore she importuned her husband night and day to provide money to go to Rome with, and there to solicit for the same dignity that Agrippa had obtained: Which he at last consented to do^d, thinking he had as good a claim for such a favour as any other could pretend to, having built cities, even Tiberias and Julias, in honour of the emperor's family; and having entertained Roman generals at his own charges. Agrippa understanding the whole project, sent Fortunatus one of his freed men to Rome, with letters and presents for the emperor. He having had a lucky passage, landed at Puteoli, at the same time with the tetrarch and his retinue, and had audience of the emperor soon after him. Agrippa's letters contained accusations against Herod, That there had been a conspiracy between him and Sejanus, since the beginning of Tiberius's reign, and that at present he favoured

^c Philo in Flaccum, & in Legatione ad Caium. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 10. ^d Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 9.

favoured Artabanus king of the Parthians, in prejudice of the emperor Caligula, and had laid up arms in the arsenals for seventy thousand men. The tetrarch being examined upon this charge, was not able to answer. Whereupon the emperor deprived him of his tetrarchy, annexing it to Agrippa's kingdom, on whom he bestowed Herod's estate, banished the tetrarch out of Judea for ever, and confined him to Lyons in France. As to Herodias, she being Agrippa's sister, the emperor offered her liberty to enjoy what belonged to her in Judea: But she declining to forsake her husband in his misfortunes, which indeed she had brought upon him, her estate was also confiscated and given to king Agrippa. Thus Herod the tetrarch, with his wife Herodias, were for ever banished their native country, to which they never returned; and this was a just punishment for beheading John the Baptist, eight years before this, because he faithfully reprov'd them for their incestuous adultery, Matth. xiv. 1,--12. and for mocking our Lord and Saviour amidst his sore sufferings, about six years before, Luke xxiii. 11.

Pontius Pilate, who had condemned our Lord against his own conscience, declaring, *I find no fault in him*, John xix. 4. and had caused great commotions and bloodshed among the Jews, by bringing in Cæsar's statues and standards into the city contrary to their law, by making water conduits by the help of the money in their sacred treasury, and by murdering such with his soldiers as stood in the way of these projects, was this year by the

the emperor Caligula reduced to such distress, and was under such torments of body and mind, that to rid himself of the same in a present life, he became his own executioner, as Eusebius^f and Orosius^g declare.

§ 101. The emperor Caligula, in the beginning of his reign, seemed pretty moderate, but he continued not long at that rate; for his cruelty furnishing him with pretexts to punish the innocent, he employed himself almost wholly in shedding of blood, defiling his hands with the massacres of the most famous men in the empire and senate, even of his own kindred, wishing that all the people of Rome had only one neck^h, that he might cut it off at one blow. He dishonoured himself by committing incest with his own sisters; and soon lavished away the treasure that Tiberius had heaped up for many years, and then made no scruple of the most horrid injustice to get money. One of his chief follies was, That he would pass for a godⁱ, and would have the heads taken off the statues of the deities, to put up his own in their place. He called on the moon to lie with him, when she was full, and boasted that he had enjoyed her, and conferred the order of the priesthood on his horse.

Among other of his follies, he had an ardent desire to have his statue put up in the temple at Jerusalem, because he knew that the Jews would be most unwilling to render him an honour which their law forbade them to do. To this end, hav-

^f Euseb. in Chronico, fol. m. 72. & in Eccl. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 7.

^g Orosius, lib. 7. cap. 5. ^h Sueton. in Calig. cap. 30. Dion. Cassius, lib. 59. p. 746. ⁱ Dion. Cassius, lib. 59. p. 759.

ing ordered Petronius to succeed Vitellius in the government of Syria, he charged him to place his statue in the temple at Jerusalem, and if the Jews refused, to oblige them by armed force to submit ^k. Petronius directed most excellent artists to prepare the image at Sidon; and have gathered an army, he wintered at Ptolemais, intending next spring to invade Judea, and compel the people to receive the statue, as he signified to the emperor by letters. Meantime there assembled several thousands of the Jews, beseeching Petronius not to constrain them to comply with what was so contrary to their laws, which they would rather suffer the most violent death than disobey. A controversy at that time arising between the Greeks and Jews at Alexandria about an affair of the like nature ^l, the latter sent to Caius five ambassadors, of whom Philo was the chief, who hath left us a relation of the embassy; but they received no favourable audience. Petronius calling the principal Jews, told them of the emperor's orders to have his statue dedicated in their temple, and beseeching them as they would prevent the ruin of their country and bloodshed of their friends, to comply; for a strong army in Syria was ready to compel them to do it. All this did not make them change their purpose; they fell down at Petronius's feet in a weeping posture, tearing their cloaths, pulling the hair out of their heads and beards; yea, offering their necks to be cut off, rather than yield to what was proposed ^m. Petronius being a little moved with their case,

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wrote

^k Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 22. De bello Jud. lib. 2. cap. 9. Philo ad Caium. ^l See page 18. ^m A. D. 40.

wrote to the emperor that he was ready to execute his orders, only the artists had not as yet finished the statue, and till the forage was ready the army could not take the field. King Agrippa, being then at Rome, did very zealously intercede for mercy to his people. But Caligula being soon after this assassinated at Rome by Charæas^m and other conspirators, after a reign of three years ten months and eight days, this put an effectual stop to the calamities that were then like to come on the Jews.

§ 102. Agrippa being at Rome when Caius was killedⁿ, he contributed very much to a right settlement of matters between the senate^o and the succeeding emperor; and therefore Claudius, the son of Drusus, grandchild to Livia the wife of Augustus, being advanced to the empire in the fiftieth year of his age^o, shewed great kindness to this Jewish king; for he not only confirmed him in the possession of his kingdom, which he had under Caligula, but also added the dominions that his grand-father Herod the Great enjoyed in Judea and Samaria, annexing to these Abylene and the country about mount Lebanon, that had belonged to Lyfanius. To Herod, brother to king Agrippa, he gave the kingdom of Chalcis; He freed the Jews at Alexandria of their grievances; and in favours of those in Palestine and in other parts he gave the following edict^p:

“ Tiberius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, high-priest, tribune of the people, elected consul the second

^m Joseph. Antiq. lib. 19. cap. 1. Suetonius in Caligula, cap. 59. Dion Cassius. lib. 59. p. 762. ⁿ A. D. 41. ^o Joseph. Antiq. lib. 19. cap. 2, 3. ^o Dion Cassius, lib. 60. p. 764. ^p Joseph. Antiq. lib. 19. cap. 4.

cond time. Since the kings Agrippa and Herod, my well-beloved friends, have desired of me that I might permit the Jews living in my empire, to use their own laws as they did heretofore, and as we have granted to the Jews who live at Alaxandria: We willingly grant their desire, not only in favours of those who petition for it, but because we think them worthy of such a privilege, in regard of the fidelity and friendship which they have always expressed to the Roman people: We judge it therefore just that no Græcian city should deny them the use of their law, which hath been preserved ever since the reign of Augustus: And that it shall be lawful in all time coming, to the Jews who live scattered in any part of our empire, to use the customs of their fathers; and ordain that they use our clemency moderately, not contemning other religions, they being allowed to use their own. And our will is, that this present ordinance be published by the magistrates of cities, colonies and countries of Italy, and be sent unto kings and foreign princes within thirty days at least, to be in such a manner posted up, as the same may be read by any person standing on the ground." This edict being cut out in brass, was hung up in the^a capitol.

The decree being sent to Alexandria and other places, Agrippa took his leave of the emperor, that he might return and govern his own kingdom in Judea, the emperor giving him letters of recommendation to all the presidents and lieutenants of provinces through which he was to pass.

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^a Joseph. de bello Judaico, lib. 2. cap. 18.

As soon as he came to Jerusalem, he offered sacrifices and performed his vows, caused Nazarites to be consecrated conformable to the law^r; and gifted the golden chain, which the emperor Caligula had complimented him with, as of equal weight to that of iron whereby he was fettered in prison, to be hung up in the treasury room in the temple, as a memorial of the changeable condition even of great men in this world. He put Theophilus the son of Ananus from the high-priesthood, and bestowed that honour on Simon, surnamed Canthara, the son of Boethus; and created Silas, who had been his companion in many dangers, general of his army.

Soon after this, some young men in Dora, placed in one of their synagogues the image of Cæsar; with which action Agrippa was exceedingly displeased, fearing it would occasion some insurrection among the people: To prevent this, he complained of the folly of these young men to Petronius, president of Syria; who was no less offended with it, as he declared in his letter to the magistrates of Dora^f; where he ordained the young men who had done this contrary to the emperor's late order, to be sent to him prisoners, and commanded that no person attempt the like in time to come.

§ 103. Next year^{*} Agrippa removed Simon Canthara from the high-priesthood, and offered to confer that office upon Jonathan the son of Ananus, which he modestly declined, in regard he had worn that sacred habit once before, but recommended

^r Joseph. Antiq. lib. 19. cap. 5. ^f Ibid. lib. 19. cap. 6. ^{*} A. D. 42.

commended Matthias his brother, on whom the king bestowed it *. Vibius Marfus was sent to be president of Syria in the room of Petronius.

Silas, the captain-general of Agrippa's army, carrying too insolently to his master, and at every occasion extolling his past services, the king sent him prisoner to his own country; but after a little time, minding his old friendship, he sent for him to celebrate his birth-day; which offer Silas refusing †, he was continued in prison. Agrippa now being at ease, and abounding in riches, set about surrounding the new town of Jerusalem with a strong wall, which he would have made impregnable; but Marfus, president of Syria, having sent an account thereof to the emperor Claudius, he fearing lest the Jews were preparing for some commotion, wrote to Agrippa to desist from that work, which he complied with. Being thus interrupted in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem, he bestowed great charges at the city Berytus ‡, where he erected a fine theatre and amphitheatre, with baths and porches, which were dedicated with great expence and magnificence, exhibiting on the theatre, shews, music, and all kind of recreations; and on the amphitheatre he made tournaments and fights; at one time he gathered all the malefactors he could get, making two companies of seven hundred a-piece, who fought and killed one another. From Berytus he proceeded to Tiberias in Galilee, where resorted to him Antiochus king of Commagena, Sampsigeran king of the Emesenes, Cotys king of Armenia the Lesser,

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* Joseph. Antiq. lib. 19. cap. 6. † Ibid. cap. 7. ‡ A. D. 43.

fer, and Polemon king of Pontus, with his brother Herod king of Chalcis, whom he entertained all very magnificently: But Marfus fearing so many princes might hatch something in prejudice of the Roman interest, ordered them all to go home to their own countries, which was immediately done, though Agrippa was not pleased with the orders. He took the high-priesthood from Matthias, and gave it to Elionæus the son of Cithæus.

§ 104. Persecution seems hereditary to the family of the Herods, as in the distich at the foot of the page *, and Agrippa followed their footsteps: For the inspired writer tells us, *Herod the king stretched forth his hand to vex certain of the church: killed James the brother of John with the sword; and because he saw it pleased the Jews, he proceeded further to take Peter also*, Acts xii. 1,—3. Divine vengeance suffered not this long; for the same writer assures us, that upon a set day, Herod, arrayed in royal apparel, sat upon his throne and made an oration to them; and the people gave a shout, saying, *It is the voice of a god, and not of a man.* And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory; and he was eaten with worms, and gave up the ghost, Acts xii. 21,—23. Josephus the Jewish historian, who might himself remember it, being then a youth of seven years of age, sets down the story with these circumstances: “ Herod removed to Cæsarea, having ended the third year of his government over all Judea. While there, he proclaimed solemn fights and festival entertainments

* Ascalonita necat pueros, Antipa Joannem, Agrippa Jacobum, mittitque in carcere Petrum. † Antiq. lib. 19. cap. ult.

ments in honour of Cæsar; to which flocked many of the nobility, and a crowd of people. On the second day he came with great state to the theatre, to make an oration to the people, clothed in a robe curiously wrought over with silver; which encountering with the beams of the rising sun, reflected such a lustre as begat some veneration in the multitude; who cried out, as prompted by flatterers, that it was some deity they beheld: Which impious applause Agrippa received without any dislike. But a sudden accident changed the scene. Looking up he saw an owl sitting on a rope over his head; which he presently owned to be a fatal messenger of his death, as before it had been of his good success*. A deep melancholy seized his mind, and exquisite torments came on his body. "Behold (says he) the deity you admired! I am commanded to die! A fatal necessity convinceth you of flattery and falsehood. He whom you saluted as immortal, is hurried to death." Being removed to his palace, his pains increased on him: Though the people prayed for his life and health, yet his acute torments prevailed, and after five days put a period to his life." Thus died king Agrippa, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and seventh of his reign, reckoning it from the time that Caligula brought him out of prison and put a diadem on his head. Before his death was known among the people, Herod prince of Chalcis his brother, and Chelcias his lieutenant, sent Aristo to kill Syllas in prison, because they judged him to be their enemy, pretending

* *Antiq. lib. 18, cap. 8.*

tending they had been commanded to do so by the king.

§ 105. Agrippa left behind him one son of his own name, then seventeen years of age, living at Rome, where he had been educated by the emperor Claudius. The Romans did not think fit to give him his father's kingdom; but making it a province of the empire under the president of Syria^a, sent Cuspius Fadus to be procurator of Judea, ordering him to punish the people of Cæsarea and Sebaste, who had offered some outrages to Agrippa's memory^b: And the emperor appointed Cassius Longinus to succeed Marfus in the government of Syria, whom he displaced because Agrippa while in life had often desired it. Cuspius Fadus being come into Judea, found that the Jews on the other side of Jordan had taken arms without consent of their magistrates, and had killed several Philadelphians contending about the limits of a village called Nia, full of valiant men. Fadus was offended that they had not reserved the cause to his hearing, but had revenged themselves at their own hand: Having therefore apprehended three of those who had been authors of the sedition, he executed one of them called Annibas, and banished the other two, whose names were Amram and Eleazar. He also punished with death Tolomæus, a great robber, who had done many injuries in Idumæa and Arabia; and cleared all the country of thieves.

Cassius Longinus, president of Syria and Cuspius Fadus meeting at Jerusalem †; ordered the priests

^a A. D. 44. ^b Tacitus, *Annal.* lib. 12. p. m. 249. *Syriæ Juddæa addita.* ^c Joseph. *Antiq.* lib. 19. cap. ult. & lib. 20. cap. 1. † A. D. 45.

priests to deliver up the high-priest's robes, to be kept by the Romans in the castle of Antonia, where they had been formerly deposited. The Jews durst not expressly refuse those commands, but desired time to consider on the matter, till they sent ambassadors to Cæsar, and obtained his answer; and upon delivery of their sons as hostages, this was granted. When the ambassadors came to Rome, at the intercession of the young Agrippa the emperor Claudius granted them a rescript, whereby he allowed the robes and mitre of the high-priest to remain in the custody of the petitioners, as Vitellius had before ordained; and he did it in regard of his own piety, and to gratify Herod king of Chalcis and young Aristobulus. At the same time Herod of Chalcis got the care of the temple and of those vestments committed to him, with the power of chusing the high-priest; who accordingly deposed Canthara from that office, and gave it to Joseph^e the son of Camis or Cormidas.

A magician called Theudas persuaded many Jews to follow him to Jordan, telling that he was a prophet, who would divide the river into two parts. Fadus would not permit the people to go on in this folly, but sent a troop of horse after them, who slew a great many, and took others prisoners, among whom was Theudas himself^d, whose head was stricken off, and carried to Jerusalem.

§ 106. Tiberius Alexander being sent to succeed Cuspius Fadus as procurator of Judea*, a
famine

* Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20, cap. ult. & lib. 20 cap. 1. ^d Ibid cap. 2. in fine. * A. D. 46.

famine then ravaged the country, which seems to be that foretold by Agabus, Acts xi. 28. who *signified by the spirit that there should be a great dearth throughout all the world, which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar.* And this is spoken of both by Josephus^c and Dion Cassius^d. Helena queen of Adiabena being then at Jerusalem, she sent a great sum of money into Egypt to buy corn, and to Cyprus for figs; and when the effects returned, she distributed the same among the poor. Josephus^e represents this queen and her children as proselytes to the Jewish religion; that her son Izates, the heir of her crown, was circumcised, and that he being touched with the case of the poor, sent a considerable sum to the governor at Jerusalem for their relief^f.

Herod king of Chalcis removed Joseph the son of Camidas from the high-priesthood^g, and put Ananias the son of Nebedæus in his room^h.

§ 107. Ventidius Cumanus succeeded Tiberius Alexander[†] as procurator of Judea^k. Herod king of Chalcis, the brother of king Agrippa I. died in the eighth year of the emperor Claudius, leaving behind him three sons, Aristobulus by his first wife Mariamne, and Bernicianus, and Hyrcanus by Berenice his brother's daughter. Agrippa II. son to the former, was made king of Chalcis in his uncle's room^l. The sons did not then succeed the father, but all things were managed according to the will of the Romans.

In

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 2, 3. ^b Lib. 60. p. 772. ^c Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 2, 3. ^d See also Gaza Tsemach David, p. m. 90. ^e A. D. 47. ^f Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 3. ^g A. D. 48. ^h Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 3. ⁱ Ibid. & de bello Judæico, lib. 2. cap. 11.

In the time of Cumanus's administration many tumults happened in Judea. One of these was in the time of the Paschal solemnity. The Roman soldiers standing at the porch of the temple, according to their custom, to prevent commotions, one of them taking up his coat, turned his bare buttocks towards some of the Jews faces, with words as unseemly as his posture. At which the multitude began to murmur^m, and flock about Cumanus, desiring him to punish the soldier for this insolence; and some of them reviled the fellow, and threw stones at him. Whereupon Cumanus, fearing the multitude of the Jews would violently rush upon him, called his soldiers to arms to the porch of the temple. The Jews being in great fear, fled and left the temple, and there was such a throng, that above ten thousand people were pressed and trode to death, whereby the feast was turned into woeful mourning. This calamity was increased by another: For near Bethoron, one Stephanus, servant to Cæsar, as he carried some household stuff, the thieves took it away. To resent this injury, Cumanus sent off some soldiers to punish the people of those villages, and put them in bonds, because they had not seized the thieves; allowing also his soldiers to pillage. In one of the villages a Roman insolently took the book of the law and tore it in pieces, with blasphemies against the law, and base reflexions on the whole nation of the Jews. Whereupon the people assembled in great numbers, making loud complaints of this insolence to Cumanus than in Cæsarea;

^m Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. cap. 4. De bello Judaico, lib. 2. cap. 11.

Casarea; who fearing a second uproar, cut off the soldier's head who had done the fact, and thus quashed the commotion.

Josephus the Jewish historian * being now about fourteen years of age ⁿ, made so great proficiency in all kinds of learning, having a good memory and quick apprehension, that he was highly esteemed; and the priests and best people among the Jews assembled about him to receive instructions concerning the ordinances of the law.

§ 108. In the last year of Cumanus's administration †, there happened a tumult between the Jews and Samaritans on this occasion. The people of Galilee who resorted to Jerusalem at the solemn feasts, being obliged to pass through Samaria, John iv. 3, 4. a quarrel arose between the inhabitants of Nais and the passengers, wherein a great number of the Galileans were murdered. The magistrates of Galilee having notice of this, they resorted to Cumanus for justice on those who had murdered their countrymen: But he being corrupted by money from the Samaritans, took no care of the complainers. The Galileans being thus provoked, persuaded the Jews to take arms to assert their liberty, telling °, That servitude in any case is uneasy, but when accompanied with outrages 'tis intolerable. Their governors studied to pacify them, but to no purpose; for the multitude having chosen Eleazar the son of Dinæus, a great robber, and one Alexander to be their captains, leaving the solemnity, went to Samaria, and there killed every body they met with, sparing no sex

* A. D. 50. ⁿ Joseph. de vita sua. † A. D. 51. ° Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 5. De b. l'o Jud. lib. 2. cap. 12.

sex nor age, and burnt some villages. Upon notice of this, Cumanus taking a troop of horse out of these at Sebaste, and four cohorts of foot, marched against them. Having armed also the Samaritans, he killed many of Eleazar's followers, and took more of them prisoners. The chief men at Jerusalem fearing that calamities might come upon their country by this uproar, put on sackcloth and ashes, and entreated the Jews to lay down their arms, with which the most part complied: But the robbers went to the mountains: And from this time the whole country was oppressed by theft and rapine. The chief of the Samaritans repaired to Numidicus Quadratus, president of Syria, then staying at Tyre, to whom also the leaders of the Jews made their address, with Jonathan the son of Ananus the high-priest at their head; but he delayed to judge their cause till he came to their country, as he promised soon to do. Quadratus according to his promise coming to Caesarea, caused crucify these whom Cumanus had taken prisoners. At Lydda he beheaded eighteen of the Samaritans, who had been accessory to the first murder; and then ordered the rest of the complainers, both Jews and Samaritans, to go to Rome, and have their cause judged by the emperor himself, and that Cumanus the procurator of Judea, and Celer his lieutenant, who had been very active in this affair, should go with them. Upon their arrival at Rome, Agrippa II. being then at court, used all his interest in favour of the Jews; and the emperor finding that the Samaritans had begun the quarrel, commanded three of their nobility to be put to death, Cumanus to be banished,

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* A. D. 30. ⁿ Joseph. de vita sua. † A. D. 51. ^o Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 5. De b. llo Jud. lib. 2. Cap. 11.

sex nor age, and burnt some villages. Upon notice of this, Cumanus taking a troop of horse out of these at Sebaste, and four cohorts of foot, marched against them. Having armed also the Samaritans, he killed many of Eleazar's followers, and took more of them prisoners. The chief men at Jerusalem fearing that calamities might come upon their country by this uproar, put on sackcloth and ashes, and entreated the Jews to lay down their arms, with which the most part complied: But the robbers went to the mountains: And from this time the whole country was oppressed by theft and rapine. The chief of the Samaritans repaired to Numidicus Quadratus, president of Syria, then staying at Tyre, to whom also the leaders of the Jews made their address, with Jonathan the son of Ananus the high-priest at their head; but he delayed to judge their cause till he came to their country, as he promised soon to do. Quadratus according to his promise coming to Caesarea, caused crucify these whom Cumanus had taken prisoners. At Lydda he beheaded eighteen of the Samaritans, who had been accessory to the first murder; and then ordered the rest of the complainers, both Jews and Samaritans, to go to Rome, and have their cause judged by the emperor himself, and that Cumanus the procurator of Judea, and Celer his lieutenant, who had been very active in this affair, should go with them. Upon their arrival at Rome, Agrippa II. being then at court, used all his interest in favour of the Jews; and the emperor finding that the Samaritans had begun the quarrel, commanded three of their nobility to be put to death, Cumanus to be banished,

banished, and that Celer should be sent to Jerusalem, where the Jews should draw him about the city, and then cut off his head.

This being done, the emperor sent Claudius Felix *, brother to Pallas, to govern Judea, Samaria, and Galilee †, in the room of Cumanus. To Agrippa he gave Philip's tetrarchy, with Batanea, Trachonitis, and Abila, which in time past had pertained to Lyfanius, taking from him the province of Chalcis, which he had governed for the space of four years ‡.

Felix, procurator of Judea †, having seen Drusilla the sister of Agrippa, was so smitten with her beauty, that he sent Simon his friend, a Jew born in Cyprus, called a magician, who persuaded her to leave her husband Azizus king of the Emesenes, and marry Felix, promising her all happiness by this match; which she agreed to, that she might be free of the envy of her sister Bernice †, who hated her for her beauty, yea, she consented to forsake the Jewish religion, that there might be no impediment to her marrying Felix, to whom she bare a son called Agrippa §.

§ 109. The emperor Claudius, after he had reigned 13 years, eight months, 20 days, died in the 13th of October of this year, not without suspicion of poison †, given by his wife Agrippina, in order to advance her son Nero to the throne. Here ends the sixtieth and last book that now remains of Dion Cassius; of the rest we have only compends done by Xiphilin.

The
 * A. D. 53. † Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 5. ‡ Joseph. ibid. † A. D. 54. † Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 5. † Idem, ibid. Sueton. in Claudio cap. 45. Dion Cassius, lib. 60. p. 791.

The character of Nero is well known, that he was a prince of extravagant manners, of unbounded pride, ambition, drunkenness, luxury, guilty of all manner of debauchery, yea, of sodomy and incest, which he attempted to commit with his own mother: But cruelty was his predominant. He dispatched most part of the senate, put to death his own tutor Seneca, Lucan the poet, and many others; nay, violated the laws of nature, being privy to, if not guilty of the death of his step-father Claudius: He killed his two wives, Octavia and Poppæa, poisoned his brother Britannicus, sent an assassin to dispatch his mother Agrippina; and to complete all, persecuted the Christians. But I am only now to consider what happened to the Jews in his reign.

In the beginning thereof*, Judea was full of robbers and of magicians, deceivers of the people. Felix apprehended many of them daily, and caused them to be put to death†. He invited Eleazar the son of Dina, captain of these thieves, promising that he should be in no danger; yet upon his submission he sent him prisoner to Rome. He contrived the death of Jonathan the high-priest, for freely admonishing him to take better care of the government; for he bribed one Dora, born in Jerusalem, to bring in certain thieves to kill him, who being willing to gratify the governor, came to the temple with their swords under their garments, and murdered Jonathan. These villains being connived at, came to the city on every feast day, and for a small sum of money slew any body

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* A D 55. † Joseph Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 6.

as they were desired, not only in the town, but even in the temple itself. Thus was the place filled with thefts and murders, on which Josephus hath this remark ", "For my part, says he, I think God hath destroyed this our city in detestation of such impiety; accounting the temple impure, he hath sent in the Romans to purify it by fire, and to make us, with our wives and children, slaves, that we might learn wisdom by our miseries." As to the magicians and deceivers, they persuaded the people to follow them into the desert, promising to shew signs and miracles: But they suffered for their folly, for Felix recalled and punished them. At the same time an Egyptian came to Jerusalem, who calling himself a prophet, excited the common people to follow him near to mount Olivet, telling them, that thence he would make them see the walls of the city fall to the ground. This being told to Felix, he marched a part of his army against them, and slew four hundred of the people, and took two hundred prisoners. As for the Egyptian, he escaped, and no man knew what^x became of him. This seems to be the same Egyptian, of whom the chief captain spoke to the apostle Paul, saying, *Art thou that Egyptian, who before these days made an uproar, and leddest out into the wilderness four thousand men that were murderers,* Acts xxi. 38.

Josephus the Jewish historian^u, having spent with one Banus three years in the desert, returned to Jerusalem, and being nineteen years of age, began to intermeddle with public affairs^v, following

^u Joseph. Antiq. lib 20 cap 6. ^x Ibid. ^v A. D. 56. ^y Joseph. de vita sua.

lowing the sect of the Pharisees, which nearly resembleth that of the Stoics among the Greeks.

The magicians and thieves still gathered together*, threatening death to those who obeyed the Romans; and being dispersed over all the country, robbed and plundered the houses of rich men, killing such as opposed them, and burning the villages.

A tumult arose at Caesarea between the Jews and the Syrians†. The former challenged the city as theirs, being founded and adorned by Herod the Great; but the latter alledged it belonged to the Gentiles, because of the statues and shrines placed in it. The contention became so hot, that several of them were slain, and others wounded; yet had the Jews the upper hand. Felix fearing this might breed a war, required the Jews to desist, commanding his soldiers to beat down those who refused to obey. In the scuffle many were killed, and others taken prisoners; and the soldiers took liberty to rob rich men's houses. Agrippa gave the high-priesthood to Ishmael the son of Fabi. A difference arose between the high-priest and the inferior priests, which came to such a height, that both parties went to blows, contending about their tithes so violently, that some priests died for want of necessaries; for all things were so far out of order, as if there had been no magistrate to make a regulation. Thus did the violence of seditions prevail above what law and right required.

Before Felix the apostle Paul, being then a prisoner

* A. D. 37. † A. D. 38. * Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 6. De bello Jud. lib. 2. cap. 12.

soner *, reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, so as Felix trembled, and said, Go thy way for this time; when I have a convenient season I will call for thee. He hoped also that money should have been given him of Paul, that he might loose him; wherefore he sent for him the oftener, and communed with him, Acts xxiv. 24, — 27. Being disappointed in these expectations, he continued the apostle a prisoner two years.

§ 110. Felix not finding the quarrel at Cæsarea pacified †, sent the chief of the contending parties on both sides to plead their cause at Rome; and being himself recalled, and Porcius Festus sent in his room, as procurator of Judea, other inhabitants of Cæsarea went to Rome to accuse him; and he had without doubt been punished for the oppressions he had been guilty of in Judea, if Nero had not pardoned him upon the intercession of his brother Pallas, then a favourite at court †. Upon Festus's succeeding governor of the province, the Jews renewed their accusation against Paul, Acts xxv. but were not able to bring any proof: However, Festus to oblige the Jews, enquired if the prisoner would go and be tried at Jerusalem? the apostle understanding the consequence of that proposal, pleaded, that being a Roman citizen, he ought to be judged by their laws, and made formally his appeal to Cæsar; which Festus received. Agrippa being come with his sister Berenice to visit this new governor, and desiring to hear and see Paul, at Festus's command he was brought forth. Being permitted to speak, he made an excellent

* A. D. 59. † A. D. 61. * Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 7. De bello Jud. lib. 2. cap. 12.

cellent apology for himself and the Christian religion, Acts xxvi. which *almost persuaded Agrippa to be a Christian*. But it being finally determined that Paul, with some other prisoners of note, should go to Rome, he proceeded on his voyage; the particulars whereof, as not pertaining to the history of the Jews, I here omit.

In the time of Festus's government, Judea was sadly afflicted with robberies, so as the lower country was spoiled with fire and sword. The thieves daily increased, and were called by the Romans Sicarii, from short swords they wore under their garments, with which they killed many in Jerusalem at the solemn feasts, and destroyed villages in the country. A seducer had carried off a considerable number of Jews after him to the desert, upon promises of liberty and freedom from trouble; but Festus^b sent a party of soldiers after him, who killed both the deceiver, and the deceived.

King Agrippa erected a stately building at Jerusalem^c, within the palace, near the porch. The house was situated on a high ground, whence one might behold the whole city, and every thing that was done in the temple. But the ringleaders of the Jews were offended, because their customs did not permit that any should see their sacrifices and oblations^c; and therefore they erected a high wall, which shut up the view of the royal chamber, at which Agrippa and Festus the Roman governor were very displeased, and ordered to put down the wall. But the Jews entreated them to allow ambassadors to be sent to Nero before these

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orders

^b Joseph. Antiq lib 20. cap. 7. De bello Jud lib. 2. cap. 12. * A.D. 63. ^c Joseph. Antiq lib 20. cap. 7.

orders were executed: For they pretended they could not live if any part of the temple was beaten down. Whereupon ten of their chief people were allowed to go to Rome, among whom were Ishmael the high-priest, and Chelcias the treasurer of the temple. Nero no sooner heard their suit but he pardoned them, not only for what they had done, but also ordered the wall to remain as it was: All which he did in favours of his wife Poppæa, a devout woman, who interceded for them. She dismissed the ambassadors, but kept Chelcias and Ishmael with her. Agrippa understanding how things had gone, gave the high-priesthood to Joseph, surnamed Cabi, whose father Simon had formerly enjoyed that office.

Josephus the Jewish historian, being at this time twenty-six years old, made a voyage to Rome. Some Jewish priests having been sent thither prisoners by the order of Felix, and being still in bonds, he inclined to do as far as he was able for their liberty. In his passage he suffered shipwreck; but having swimmied all night, by break of day, he with eighty others out-swimming the rest, were taken up by a Cyrenian ship they had in view in the Adriatic. At Puteoli he became acquainted with Aliturus a Jew, by whose means he was introduced to Poppæa, Nero's wife^a. By her interest, he obtained liberty for the priests, and being gratified by her liberality, he returned to Judea.

§ 111. Festus having died in his province, Nero sent Albinus to be procurator of Judea in his room. He deposed from the high-priesthood Joseph

seph Cabi, and advanced in his stead Ananus the son of Ananus, whose five sons all enjoyed that office. This Ananus was of the sect of the Sadducees, who are severe justiciaries; and he thought he had got a proper time, when Festus was dead, and Albinus on his journey, to call a council of the judges; where James the brother of Jesus Christ, and some others, were condemned as guilty of impiety, and stoned to death, which displeased all good men^e. Eusebius hath the story more fully out of Egesippus^f, as I have in another essay related it^g. This fact, says Josephus^h, "displeased all good men, and observers of the law," who sent to Agrippa, to desire him not to commit such offences in time coming. Some also represented to Albinus, then at Alexandria, that it was not lawful for Ananus to assemble the council without his licence. On which representation, Albinus wrote an angry letter to the high-priest, threatening him with punishment, and Agrippa turned him out of his office, after he had possessed it three months, and established in his stead Jesus the son of Damnaus. Albinus being arrived at Jerusalem, punished thieves and robbers.

Ananias the priest, by reason of his liberality, increased in honour and reputation among the people: But he had very wicked servants, who, with their associates, went from place to place taking up tithes that belonged to the priests, and beating those who refused to comply; whereby many poor priests died for want of victuals. The

D 3

robbers

^e Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 8.^f Euseb. hist. Eccl. lib. 2. cap. 23.^g Propagation of Christianity, chap. 3.^h Joseph. *ibid.*

robbers broke in upon the city in the night-time, and carried off a son of Ananias, secretary to captain Eleazar, ¹, sending Ananias word they would deliver up his son, providing Albinus would liberate ten of their companions then his prisoners. Which Ananias persuaded the procurator to do; but the thieves grew more insolent, still doing one injury after another. About this time Agrippa enlarged the city Cæsarea, calling in Neronias. He also erected a large theatre at Berytus; where every year he spent a great deal of money in exhibiting shews to the people, and adorned that city with statues, transporting ornaments thither out of the rest of the kingdom, which procured him envy and hatred from the people.

Four years before the war, which is the year of which we are now writing, one Ananus, a common countryman, coming up to the feast of tabernacles, cried out, "Wo from the east, wo from the west, wo from the four winds", wo against Jerusalem and the temple, wo against men and women newly married, wo against all this people!" This he cried night and day about all the streets of the city. Some of the nobility took him and scourged him, but he continued crying as before. Yea, though he was brought before the Roman deputy, and beaten till his bones appeared; he never wept, but still cried, "Wo, wo unto Jerusalem!" Thus he did continually, especially on holy days, for the space of seven (some copies of Josephus have it six) years and five months. His voice never waxed hoarse nor weary, till in the time of the

¹ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 8. * Joseph. de bello, lib. 7. cap. 12.

the siege beholding what he had foretold accomplished, he ceased; but on observing the Roman engines playing against the city, he cried once more, "Wo, wo to the city, temple and people, and wo, wo to myself;" upon speaking of which words, a stone, shot out of a machine, smote him and he died.

§ 112. King Agrippa conferred the high-priesthood on Jesus the son of Gamaliel ^a, turning out Jesus the son of Damnæus, but the latter did not willingly yield to the former. Whereupon a contest arose, and the parties proceeded from bitter words to stones and blows. Ananias, by his wealth and liberality ¹, gained many associates, Costobarus and Saul being of the blood royal, by alliance with Agrippa, gathered a band of rascals and desperate men, who spoiled the weaker sort, and from this time the state of the city grew desperate, daily abounding in wickedness. Albinus the procurator forced away men's goods under the colour of justice, burdened the whole nation with heavy tributes, and set malefactors and robbers out of prison, if either they or their friends would give him a piece of money ^m, conniving at all the injuries they did to the people, and detaining only the poor in custody who could give nothing for their ransom. These who desired changes in Jerusalem, began to grow insolent; and these who were rich gave Albinus money for a licence to carry on their seditious practices: The common people joined the more powerful, and each had a company of thieves after them: The

^a A. D. 64. ¹ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 8. ^m Joseph. de bello, lib. 2. cap. 13.

The Levitical law was violated^a. The procurator himself, especially when he heard of a successor coming to him, became the chief of the robbers, permitting his own guard to plunder houses, and no man durst trust another. These things were the beginning of sorrows.

For Gessius Florus, who came in the room of Albinus, exceeded his predecessor. He was a Clazomenian born, and married to one Cleopatra, a woman as wicked as himself; but being a favourite of Poppæa, Nero's wife^b, she obtained this province for her husband. He behaved himself with such violence in the government, that the Jews praised his predecessor, as if he had been their benefactor. Albinus had concealed his wickedness, but Florus openly declared his, omitting neither rapine nor injustice, punishing the innocent as much as the guilty: For he was covetous without pity, and not ashamed to be partaker with thieves; which made many go into that profession, being assured of safety when the procurator was their associate. His oppression was such, as it forced some to leave their native country, and take a more commodious place among strangers, and made the body of the nation take arms against the Romans. The outworks of the temple being about this time finished^c, eighteen thousand workmen were paid off and made idle, who helped on these fatal commotions. With these things Josephus concludes the twentieth and last book of his antiquities.

§ 113. Having thus deduced the history of the Jews

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20 cap. 8.

^b Ibid. cap. 9.

^c A. D. 65.

^d Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 8.

Jews to the twelfth year of the emperor Nero, when the war began which rendered their country desolate, I shall now observe a few things, which in divine providence concurred to help on the ruin of that nation, and conclude this chapter (which a multitude of matters has rendered too long) with a short narrative of the events of the war, and of the desolation of that country which thereon ensued.

First, We may observe that the royal dignity was much decayed in Judea, the princes in that country, ever since Pompey conquered Jerusalem, being vassals to the Romans, who set them up or pulled them down at pleasure, or as it was judged for the Roman interest. Herod the Great began his reign thirty-seven years before the birth of Christ, and his posterity enjoyed some shadow of power to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem; and even after that, there were two branches of the family remaining in Armenia: For Herod the Great had two sons by the beheaded Mariamne; Aristobulus the younger of the two, from whom Agrippa I. and Herod king of Chalcis descended; and Alexander the elder, married to Glaphyra, daughter to Archelaus king of Cappadocia^a, who by her had two sons, Tigranes king of Armenia, killed by Tiberius, and Alexander, who left Tigranes II. named by Nero to succeed his uncle. But this branch had two misfortunes; one, that they forsook the religion of their ancestors, and being mixed with the heathens embraced their religion; and the other, that it made
a dis-

^a See Vol. IV. p. 361. and 371.

a dismal end, young Tigranes being beaten by Tiridates, and forced to quit the throne: And, as Josephus' observes, though Herod's posterity was very numerous, yet they were all extinguished in the space of one hundred years. The Herods were by descent Idumæans, but by religion Jews born in the country. Herod the Great was a king dependent upon and tributary to the Romans, and died soon after our Saviour was born. But during our Redeemer's life upon earth there was no king in Judea: Archelaus the son of Herod the Great was but only an ethnarch, and after he had enjoyed this nine or ten years was banished, leaving Jerusalem and all Judea under the government of the Romans, in which condition it remained at our Saviour's death. The other sons of Herod were only tetrarchs in Iturea and Galilee, having no authority in the territories of Jerusalem and Samaria. Agrippa I. became a great man, but did not reign over Judea and Samaria till the reign of Claudius; and our Lord died in the reign of Tiberius, several years before this reign of Agrippa commenced. Kings disappeared at Jerusalem while our Lord made his entry into the world, and the Jews ought to have been sensible, that *the sceptre was then departed from Judah*. Besides, the reign of the Herods was disadvantageous to the Jewish nation; for having only a shadow of authority, always depending upon the Roman empire, they became obliged to keep the people in a servile dependence, and were the leeches that sucked the blood of that poor nation to enrich their

their master's favourites. They were bound to build cities and citadels in honour of their benefactors, and to soften by presents and vast sums such as seemed exasperated, to contribute to their pleasures and expences, to bear the burden of the crown without enjoying the advantage thereof, since they still groaned under the Roman yoke.

§ 114. Secondly, The same decay is to be observed in the priesthood. This sacred dignity was weakened by degrees, till it was entirely abolished, being at the beck either of the Romans or ruling princes. The Jewish church, which for a great many ages saw but one high-priest deposed, had now a new head almost every year. The high-priests were deprived of their office, others who bought it were put into their room, and even these who kept it longest had so little power, that they could not suppress the disorders of the robbers and zealots. Thus the church as well as the state by degrees went to destruction. To recount all the changes in the high-priesthood, even from the time of Herod the Great, would be to transcribe the history we have already wrote. I shall then only give a short catalogue of the high-priests who lived, were deposed, restored or killed, from the reign of Herod the Great to the destruction of Jerusalem, and we shall find them twenty-nine in number, viz. 1. Annanelas, brought from Babylon; 2. Aristobulus the Asmonæan, drowned; 3. Annanelus restored, and deposed a second time; 4. Jesus the son of Phœbes, deposed; 5. Simon Boethus, Herod's father-in-law, deposed; 6. Matthias the son of Theophilus, deposed a few days before

before Herod's death. By Archelaus, 7. Joazar son of Simon, uncle to Mariamne II. deposed; 8. Eleazar brother to Joazar; 9. Jesus the son of Sie, turned out by Quirinius and Coponius, to make way for Joazar, who was restored, and at the same time deposed by the people's request; 10. Ananus the son of Seth, turned out by Gratus; 11. Ismael son of Fabi; 12. Eleazar son of Annas; 13. Simon son of Camith; 14. Joseph surnamed Calaphas, turned out by Vitellius; 15. Jonathas the son of Annas. By Agrippa I. 16. Theophilus son of Jonathas; 17. Simon Canthara, son to Simon I. 18. Matthias son of Annas; 19. Elionæus. By Herod king of Chalcis, 20. Simon Canthara, successor to Elionæus, deposed for a second time; 21. Joseph the son of Camydas. By Agrippa II. 22. Ananias the son of Nebedæus, turned out; 23. Ismael the son of Fabi; 24. Joseph Cabi, son of Simon I. 25. Annas or Ananus, the murderer of St. James[†], who seems to be the same man who commanded those who stood by the apostle Paul to *smite him on the mouth*, who prophetically told him, *God shall smite thee, thou wilt build wall*, Acts xxiii. 2, 3. Accordingly we find in Josephus[†], that Ananias the high-priest was taken in one of the water-conduits of the king's palace, with his brother Ezekias, and killed by the thieves. The 26th in this list was Jesus the son of Damnaeus. But his predecessors being unwilling to resign, the matter came to blows[‡]. Thus ecclesiastics were in arms to fight for an office which God only could give. The 27th was Jesus the

[†] See page 40.

[‡] See page 44.

[†] Joseph. de bello Judæico, lib. 2. cap. 18. ab initio.

son of Gamaliel: And he with the rest of the combatants being turned out, the priesthood was given, 28. to Matthias the son of Theophilus: And he being killed in the war*, the 29th and last high-priest was one Phanus or Phannias, a stupid ignorant fellow, not of the sacerdotal race*, in whom ended the high-priesthood, God having no more occasion for this office when his own Son was come to be an *high-priest over the house of God.*† Thus we see so many changes in the high-priesthood without any regard to the family of Aaron, as Josephus* observes, but only to the interest of the reigning party, and that in a short time of one hundred and ten years: Whereas, from the time of Moses to the building of Solomon's temple, which was 480 years, there were only thirteen high-priests. But now so great and remarkable was the decay of the Jewish church, as a forerunner of its approaching ruin in the just judgment of God, that the authority of this sacred office seemed to be abolished even in those who enjoyed it; for they were the game of inconsistency and caprice, of humour and faction, so given to covetousness, that they robbed the inferior priests of their usual food, minding nothing but to provide money to bribe the Roman governors, whose protection they wanted; and when this failed, they stirred up the people to rebel and enter into a war, which proved their ruin.

§ 115. Another step that advanced the calamities of the Jews, was the disorders and different factions of the people, to which we may add the oppressions

* Joseph. de bello Judaico, lib. 6. cap. 15. † Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 6. ‡ Ibid.

oppressions of the Roman soldiers and governors. This is so evident from the history, that I need not now enlarge upon it. By the division of the Asmonæans, and the exigency of Herod's affairs, the Romans were called in to his assistance, or rather to the government of Judea; and religion suffered very much by such auxiliary troops and hard masters. The Jews had so great an aversion to images, that the Roman eagles on their standards put the people in an uproar; yet Herod the Great, to compliment the Romans, set up a golden eagle on the gate of the temple: The zealots being persuaded that this ought not to be suffered, hewed down the image. The old king, though lying on his death-bed, had malice enough to cause those who advised this action to be burnt alive^a, and the rest to be beheaded. The people looked on them as martyrs, and asked justice of his son Archelaus: But he was so far from condemning what his father had done, that he caused three thousand Jews who complained to be murdered^b in the temple. He was afraid if he foregave the affront done to the eagle, Augustus would think that he suffered the majesty of the empire to be trampled upon. Thus every thing was sacrificed to the Romans. Public shews and games, unknown in Judea, were celebrated to the emperor's honour. By a tumult raised on occasion of one of the soldiers shewing his bare breech to the Jews, ten thousand of the people were killed or crushed to death, and several other tumults raised by the impiety of these military men, have been already

^a See Vol. IV. p. 387.^b See Vol. IV. 393.

already noticed. The Roman governors did more harm than the soldiers; most of them were like so many banditti, who studied nothing else but how to enrich themselves by the spoils of the government. There were fourteen of these procurators one after another sent to Judea, viz. 1. Coponius. 2. Marcus Ambivius. 3. Annius Rufus. 4. Valerius Gratus. 5. Pontius Pilate. 6. Marcellus. 7. Marullus. 8. Cuspius Fadus. 9. Tiberius Alexander. 10. Ventidius Cumanus. 11. Claudius Felix. 12. Porcius Festus. 13. Albinus. 14. Gessius Florus. The succeeding one was still worse than he who had gone before him; and the two last, by their oppressions, exactions and severities, turned the Jews quite mad, to venture, contrary to all sense and reason, upon a rebellion against the Roman empire that had conquered the world. The robbers in Judea, the magicians, impostors, zealots, and the various sects, of whom we have noticed several things already, and may in the progress of this work give a further view of them; all these helped to hasten on the calamities which the sins of this guilty people deserved.

§ 116. But I proceed now to give a short narrative of the rise and events of the war between the Jews and the Romans, and of the desolation of the country that thereon ensued. The Jews impatiently resented the tyranny of the Roman yoke; which seemed heavier to their necks than to other nations, because they looked on themselves as a more free-born people, and were proud of these great immunities which heaven had conferred upon them. Being no longer able to endure the tyranny of Gessius Florus, upon Cestius Gallus, president

president of Syria's coming to Jerusalem at the feast of the passover, a multitude of Jews, to the number of about three millions, entreated him to help their afflicted country, and banish Florus, who was a plague to their nation * c. Gallus gave them fair words, and returned to Antioch: But the procurator laughing at their complaints, every day oppressed them with new calamities. At Casarea some Gentiles offered to build taverns near the door of the Jews synagogue; which vexing this people, they gave Florus eight talents to hinder the work: But he having got the money, minded no more of the matter. A Gentile having sacrificed some birds at the door of the synagogue, this was counted a profaning of the place, which occasioned an uproar, and made the Jews carry away the book of the law d from Casarea, for which the procurator cast some of them in irons. But his taking seventeen talents out of the sacred treasury at Jerusalem to carry on his designs, made the Jews heartily to revile and curse him. Being informed of this, he marched with a party of his forces to Jerusalem, where he put six hundred and thirty persons to the sword, and ordered some of their best quality to be whipped and crucified before his tribunal. Berenice, sister to king Agrippa, intreated Florus to moderate his resentments against the Jews; but she was not only slighted, but also put in danger of her life. Agrippa beholding this melancholy posture of affairs, that the procurator took all methods to stir up the Jews to rebellion, which they were

* A. D. 66. c. Joseph. de bello Jud. lib. 2. cap. 13. d Ibid. cap. 14.

ready to go into, called them to the porch of the temple, where he made a long oration to them, setting forth the power of the Roman empire, the folly of their rebelling, and exhorting them to obey Florus, till another was sent to supply his room. At this the multitude was so offended, that they reviled the king, threw stones at him, and drove him out of the city.

The Jews being every where male-treated, ran to arms, and suddenly seized the castle of Massada, killing all the Romans in the place, and setting there a garrison of their own party. In the temple at Jerusalem, Eleazar the son of Ananias persuaded the Jews not to accept of the cattle for sacrifices which Caesar had allowed, and set upon the Romans who were there, killing them on the Sabbath-day. "This," says Josephus, "made wrath hang over the city, though there had been no danger from the Romans." The same day the Gentiles in Casarea massacred all by the Jews who dwelt among them, to the number of twenty thousand persons. Florus took these who had escaped and put them in irons. This made the greater part of the whole nation desperate; so that dividing themselves in companies, and marching through the country, they destroyed many places with fire and sword, as Philadelphia, Gebonitis, Gerasa, Pella and several others. To revenge this, the Syrians murdered the Jews dwelling among them, whom they hated on many accounts. At Scythopolis there were thirteen thousand Jews killed, at Ascalon two thousand five hundred,

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hundred,

* Joseph. Antiq. de bello Jud. cap. 15, 16. f Ibid. cap. 17.
 † Ibid. cap. 18. ‡ Ibid. cap. 19.

hundred, and at Ptolemais two thousand¹. The Egyptians at Alexandria having an old quarrel with the Jews in that country; and having got the assistance of Tiberius Alexander the Roman governor of that province, with two legions under his command, they fell upon them, and in one day killed fifty thousand².

Cestius Gallus president of Syria being informed of these commotions, thought fit to bestir himself; and therefore, with the twelfth legion, and some other forces he gathered in the country, and auxiliaries from king Agrippa³, he marched into the city of Zabulon; which being deserted by the inhabitants, flying into the mountains, he seized, plundered, and then set it on fire. Having spoiled the rest of the open country, he retired to Ptolemais, and thence to Cæsarea. From which place he sent a party of his army against Joppa, who attacking that city by sea and land, took and set it on fire; killing eight thousand four hundred inhabitants. He sent Cæsennius Gallus, the commander of the twelfth legion into Galilee, where several places submitted to him; but the thieves and the seditious retired to the mountains, where they made some resistance, but were soon defeated, with the loss of two thousand of their men⁴. Having settled peace in Galilee, Cestius marched towards Jerusalem, where the Jews were then observing the feast of tabernacles: But they left the solemnity to fight with the Romans, over whom they had a small victory killing five hundred and fifteen men. Notwithstanding

¹ Joseph. Antiq. de bello Jud. cap. 10. ² Ibid. cap. 21. ³ Ibid. cap. 22. ⁴ Ibid. cap. 23.

standing this loss, Cestius proceeded to the city. King Agrippa, who was with him, thought to have persuaded the Jews to submit; but the seditious killed Phæbus, one of his ambassadors^a, without allowing him to speak a word, and the other being wounded, made his escape. Then Cestius attacked Jerusalem, and reduced the lower part of the city, with Bethza and Canopolis, and might also have taken the upper part of the temple, where many inclined to submit to the Romans; only the seditious opposed it. But at last Cestius fearing he would not be able to carry his point, retired with his army too indeliberately out of the city, and marched off to his own country. In his retreat he was often way-laid and attacked by the Jews, whereby he lost abundance of his men, with warlike instruments and provisions, which the pursuers picked up. The heathens of Damascus hearing of this, killed of the Jews ten thousand^b. But the retreat of Cestius had many other effects in Judea; for thereby John of Giscala, Simon of Giora, and others of the seditious^c, were encouraged to raise new commotions: And so fatal were their factions, that they would have ruined themselves, if the Romans had not done it. Josephus the historian was sent to command the upper and lower Galilee, Eleazar the son of Ananias into Idumæa, and Annus the high-priest undertook to govern Jerusalem, the temple, and the neighbouring citadels.

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§ 117. On

^a Joseph. de bello Jud. cap 24.^b Ibid. cap. 25.^c Ibid. cap 25,—28.

§ 117. On the other hand, Cestius informed Nero, then in Achaia *, of the bad state of his affairs in Judea; who presently dispatched Vespasian, a man trained up in the wars from his infancy †, who had commanded the Roman armies in Germany and in Britain, and was judged to be the best officer in his time, to be general of the army against the Jews. He carried with him his son Titus, and two Roman legions from Achaia. Marching into Syria, he caused the Roman forces in every place with several auxiliaries to join him, till he made up a formidable army of sixty thousand men ‡, with which he marched into Galilee. In the meantime the Jews attacked Askelon, but were repulsed with the loss of ten thousand men, among whom were two of their leaders, John and Silas §. Though Josephus, the Jewish historian, who commanded in Galilee, had a numerous army of militia, yet he did not think proper to appear with them in the field, especially after he heard that Vespasian had taken Gadara at the first assault ¶, but retired with them into Jotapata, which he fortified, to stop the enemy for some time. The city was situated on a rock, well provided with all necessaries, except salt and water, which were scarce; but Josephus husbanded them as well as possible. There he did all the offices of a good captain, except that he tells himself **, when he saw the place would be taken, he designed once to flee and leave it. This being prevented, he had several sharp encounters with the Romans, who during the siege (which continued seven months)

* A. D. 67. † Joseph. de bello Judaeo, lib. 2. cap. 1. ‡ Ibid. cap. 3. § Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 1. ¶ Ibid. cap. 6. ** Ibid. cap. 8.

months) lost a world of men, even Vespasian himself was slightly wounded: But being informed by a deserter, that the number of the besieged was reduced, and that they slept in the night to refresh themselves to bear the fatigue in the day, the Roman general ordered his own son Titus, with another of his officers, to make an attack early in the morning, wherein he was so successful as to enter the citadel before the Jews awaked; and as soon as the Roman army came in, they committed a horrid slaughter, sparing none save women and children. Forty thousand Jews perished, either during the siege or at taking the city. Josephus was found in a cave, and spared by Vespasian; to whom, 'tis said, he foretold that he should be emperor. Upon the twenty-fifth day of June in the same year, Trajan and Titus took Japha in Galilee, where, in a first and second engagement, fifteen thousand Jews were killed, and two thousand one hundred and thirty taken prisoners. Joppa having been rebuilt by the seditious after the same had been destroyed by Cestius, Vespasian understanding that the Jews from that port designed to exercise piracies, he sent a part of his army to attack the place; and the besieged finding that they were not able to defend it, betook themselves to their ships. But next morning a violent tempest arising drove them against the rocks, where they were all shipwrecked and dashed in pieces, so as four thousand two hundred of their dead bodies were found cast ashore next day. Tiberius submitted, and obtained a pardon.

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The

* Joseph. de bello Judaeo, lib. 3. cap. 7, 8, 9, 10, 13. 7 Ibid. cap. 14.

* Ibid. cap. 11. * Ibid. cap. 13. * Ibid. 16.

The mutineers got together at Tarrichæa, and at first sallied against Titus when he came to attack them. But being beat back, Titus taking advantage of their disorder, entered the town, and put the inhabitants to the sword, where and on the lake six thousand five hundred were killed, twelve hundred killed going to Tiberias^c, six thousand sent to Nero, and thirty thousand four hundred sold.

Gamala made a vigorous defence. The city, though situated on the other side of Jordan, was reckoned a part of Galilee. It held out a whole month, and even after the Romans had entered it, they were driven out with considerable loss. Vespasian was there wounded with a sling. But at last the town and castle were both taken, and the conqueror did not spare even the children. Four thousand Jews were killed^d, and five thousand in an astonishing despair threw themselves down from the tops of rocks. There was such a slaughter of that nation every where, and that even with such remarkable circumstances, that there seemed reason to believe that God had a mind to extirpate them, and not even to spare their very children. Giscala was the last place in Galilee that held out against the Romans. Titus summoned and intreated them to surrender: Which they all inclined to do; only John of Giscala, a magician, and a ringleader of the seditious, desired one night's time, it being the Sabbath, to consider the proposal. This being granted, he with a number of others made their escape to Jerusalem. But
while

^c Joseph. de bello Judaico, lib. 3. cap. 17, 18. ^d Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 1, 3.

while it was dark, Giscala deserted his followers, leaving them to the Romans; who came suddenly on, and destroyed two thousand of them^a; and the city submitted^b. Thus the whole of Galilee was reduced in the second campaign, and Vespasian put his army into winter-quarters at Cæsarea, a city for most part inhabited by Greeks, where there had been always a Roman garrison, and which was the usual residence of the governors of Judea.

In the meantime all the several gangs of mutineers, assassins, robbers and zealots joined at Jerusalem to defend the place against the Romans. The zealots seized upon some of the royal family, whom they accused of a design to betray the city to the enemy; and notwithstanding their quality and innocence took away their lives. When they observed the people stirred up by the high-priest's rising against them, they seized the temple and the holy place, which from this time and forward became the theatre of a cruel civil war^c, till it was burnt down to the ground. John of Giscala, who had fled from the place so named, joined with the zealots at Jerusalem, to obtain the honour of being their commander, and persuaded them to call in the Idumæans to their assistance, much against the mind of Ananus and other priests. But one day, while it rained and thundered prodigiously, the zealots marched out of the temple, and broke open with instruments the gates of the city, whereby they let in twenty thousand Idumæans^d, who filled Jerusalem with blood

^a Joseph. de bello Jud. cap. 4.

^b A. D. 68.

^c Ibid. cap. 5, 6.

^d Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 6.

blood and slaughter : For at one time they killed eight thousand five hundred people^a ; at another time they shut up in prison the best quality and youths most fit for war, and because they refused to associate in their gang, they barbarously murdered twelve thousand of them^b. Among others they killed Ananias the high-priest, to whom Josephus^c gives a good character, saying, " If he had been spared, he might have preserved the city." Zacharias the son of Baruch was another whom they put to death with some solemnity^d, by reason of his merit and worth. After these villanous actions the Idumzans left Jerusalem. They being gone, the zealots raged against the citizens, killing many^e, and not allowing their bodies to be buried.

Vespasian being informed by deserters of these disorders at Jerusalem, opened the third campaign ; but did not think fit straight to march to that city, but went to Gadara, the metropolis of Peræa, that is, the province beyond Jordan, which fell to the share of the tribes of Reuben and Gad. Dolefus, one of the inhabitants, introduced the Romans undiscovered : But the inhabitants out of revenge killed him^f, and then fled out of the town. Placidus being sent on the pursuit, overtook them at the passage of Jordan, where he killed thirteen thousand of them, without reckoning a great many drowned in the river then swelled with rain. He carried his conquests as far as the Dead Sea, making himself master of the whole country. Vespasian then put himself on his march to

^a Joseph. de bello Jud. lib. 4. cap. 7. ^b Ibid. lib. 5. cap. 2. ^c Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 7. in fine. ^d Ibid. lib. 5. cap. 1. ^e Ibid. cap. 2. ^f Ibid. cap. 3.

to Jerusalem; which he began to block up. He took Lydda and Jamnia, ravaged Idumea, ten thousand people being killed in the villages there. He put a garrison into Jericho⁹, and made a legion encamp at Emmaus, three leagues from Jerusalem. But the news of the death of Nero, after a reign of 13 years eight months, interrupted his designs. Vespasian reckoned he was obliged to wait orders from the new emperor, or rather for the event of that revolution, in which he himself was concerned; and therefore he sent Titus his son with king Agrippa the Jew towards Rome. But as they were passing by Achaia, they heard that Galba was killed after a reign of seven months seven days; and that Otho was advanced, who only continued three months; whereupon Titus returned to his father at Caesarea. In the mean time Geraza was taken by the Romans at the first assault, and a thousand Jews were there killed. Simon, a captain of the robbers, without the city Jerusalem, and John of Giscala within it, with the Zealots, committed horrid disorders and barbarities⁹; and none were so safe as they who fled to the Roman army. Vespasian being informed of Vitellius's advancement to the Roman empire⁹; who was a mere epicure, and finding the army resolute to salute himself emperor, he complied with the offer, promising to free the empire of the disorders and scandals committed by these monthly emperors. Tiberius Alexander, governor of Egypt, being in-

formed

⁹ Joseph. de bello Judaico, lib. 5. cap. 4. ⁹ Ibid. cap. 6. ⁹ Ibid. cap. 7, 9. ⁹ A. D. 69. ⁹ Xiphilini epitome Dionis, p. 408.

formed by letters of this revolution, took the oath of fidelity, and all the army there followed his example. Vespasian finding all Egypt, which was the granary of Rome, firm to his interest, caused break the chains of Josephus the historian, restoring him to liberty who had foretold his advancement; and having committed the conduct of the Jewish war to his son Titus, he proceeded from Judea to Antioch, and thence to Rome; where Vitellius was slain, after a reign of eight months, five days, and Vespasian was received emperor to the great joy of the city.

§ 119. Titus having gathered his army together, invested Jerusalem, when the Jews were preparing to celebrate the passover*. His army consisted of four Roman legions†, whereof the twelfth was very eager to be revenged on the Jews for the disgrace they had sustained under Cestius‡. These made up a body of twenty-four thousand foot, and two thousand four hundred horse. Five thousand men were added to them, with twenty regiments of foot, and eight of horse of auxiliaries, besides the troops of Agrippa, Sohemus, and Antiochus, with a company of Arabians. All these made a considerable army. The city was divided into factions. Simon, whom they called in, possessed the upper part of the city, with some of the lower; John with the Zealots had the temple and the other part of the lower town. His party was again divided into two. Eleazar, who had been the first commander of the Zealots, taking it ill that John was preferred to him, he with his associates

* Joseph. de bello Judaico, lib. 5. cap. 10. — 14. * A. D. 70. † Joseph. de bello Judaico, lib. 6. cap. 1. ‡ See p. 54.

clates seized the inner part of the temple; where, by the situation of the place he had great advantage: For thus, John who lodged his party in the outer courts of the temple and the porches, was obliged to fight against Eleazar and Simon. Their battles were very frequently bloody, and in them they burnt the stores of corn and other necessaries, which occasioned a grievous famine in the time of the siege: For at the feast of the passover, there used to be gathered together about two millions, seven hundred thousand persons; a great many also had been driven thither by the Roman conquests all over Judea, which made a multitude of mouths; and when provisions failed, this raised a prodigious famine. Titus straitly blocked up all the avenues leading to the place, whereby he prevented all possibility either of coming in or going out. Then was literally accomplished what our Lord foretold, Luke xix. 41,—44. when he wept over the city, saying, *If thou had known the things that belong to thy peace, but now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.* The city was very strong in situation, and also by art; for the temple on mount Moriah, the citadel called Antonia, and the king's palace, were not only beautiful structures, but likewise strong fortifications. A triple wall*, strengthened and adorned with one hundred and sixty-four towers of excellent

* See Josephus's description of Jerusalem, de bello Judaico, lib. 6, cap. 6.

cellent workmanship, inclosed the whole mountain whereon the city stood. Besides, there were many subterranean canals, through which the Jews did often pass into the country, and surpris'd the Roman foragers. While Titus was encamping, the Jews sallied out with such success, as to disorder his army, and put the general himself oftener than once in danger; but the circumvallation and entrenchments being soon finished, the besieged were more closely pent up. Terms of mercy were offered upon surrender. Titus himself often exhorted them to it, even after he had taken the first and second wall, and their case was become desperate. He sent Josephus the historian, their countryman, who in a long oration, and afterwards in a shorter speech¹ in their own language, used all arguments possible to persuade them to a submission. But all being scornfully rejected, the Romans were provoked to fall on with greater vigour. Great mounts were raised; many mines, machines, and battering-rams used to shake and overthrow the walls, which they did with success. God and man, heaven and earth seemed to fight against them; the Roman army without, and irreconcilable factions within. A month after the siege commenced, a famine began, hastened by the vast multitude of people in the city, and rag'd so horribly, that the besieged took more care to prey upon one another, and to plunder provisions, than how to defend themselves against the common enemy. Thousands starv'd for want of food, who died

¹ Joseph. de bello Jud. lib. 6. cap. 2, 3. ² Ibid. lib. 6 cap. 11. & lib. 7. cap. 4.

died so fast, that they were not able to perform the last offices of humanity, but were forced to throw them on common heaps. Nay, they were reduced to that extremity, that some offered violence to all the laws of nature. Mary, the daughter of Eleazar, being undone by the soldiers, and no longer able to bear the force of hunger, boiled her own son, a sucking child, and eat him^a. So plainly were the words of our Lord accomplished, Luke xxiii. 29. *The days are coming, in which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps that never gave suck.* Many killed themselves to avoid the pain of hunger and famine. Simon killed Matthias, who had been high-priest^b, and many others of the sacerdotal order. From the fourteenth of April, to the first of July, were carried out at one gate 115080 dead bodies; and a nobleman flying to Titus reported, that there were dead in the city 600,000 poor, which they threw out at the gates^c. Others who ventured out to the Roman camp, were killed with plenty. Another accident increased their miseries; these who came out swallowed their gold, which was observed by their scratching into their excrements; and the Syrian and Arabian soldiers were so cruel and covetous, that they ripped open two thousand Jews in one night, that they might come to the metal^d. Titus caused punish some of those with death, who had been guilty of this fact, but their number and avarice was so great, that they could not be all reached. To terrify the besieged into a submission, he caused crucify

^a Joseph. de bello Jud lib. 7. cap. 8. ^b Ibid. lib. 6. cap. 15. ^c Ibid. cap. 16. ^d Ibid. cap. 15.

cify some of their number who had fled into his camp in their view. But they reviled him from the walls, and nothing would alarm the seditious and Zealots, who were hardened to their own ruin.

At length Titus being very desirous to put an end to the calamities of the Jews, which he often protested their own obstinacy, and not he, had brought upon them. Having made himself master of one of the porches of the temple, he attempted to scale the walls: But the besieged overset the ladders when full of soldiers, and carried away their ensigns. He then took another method, by setting the gates on fire, so as the silver plates that covered them melting, the flame took hold of the galleries. The Jews astonished at the conflagration, did not mind to extinguish it, or to defend themselves, as they had done formerly. Titus then caused put out the fire, resolving next day to give a general assault; and, if possible, to spare the temple. But a soldier, who waited for no command, being helped up by his fellow, threw a flaming firebrand into the golden gate, which entered into the rooms of the north-part of the temple. The flame presently rising, the Jews made a great noise, and laboured to extinguish it. Mean time the Roman army entering, the soldiers killed all their enemies who came into their hands. Though the general ran, and commanded to put out the flame, he could not be heard: And the combustion was so fierce, that it threatened to pull up mount Zion by the roots. Titus only had time
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* Joseph. de bello Jud. lib. 7. cap. 9, 10, 11.

to see the holy place, and admire the riches thereof. Our Lord's prediction must be accomplished, *That there should not be one stone left upon another,* Luke xix. 44. The Romans made a dreadful slaughter of the Jews, so as the stairs of the temple ran with blood. Some leaped into the flames to prevent their enemies, and a few escaped into the town, which still held out. Thus was the temple taken and ruined on the tenth of August. A few precious things that were taken out of the treasury-house and the holy place, were preserved, and afterwards brought to Titus; as the sacerdotal robe, the precious stones of the ephod, with some other spoils; of which afterwards.

The temple being taken, plundered and burnt to the ground, the army saluted their general by the title of *Imperator*. He called the seditious, who had fled into the upper part of the city, to meet him at the bridge by which the temple was joined to the town, where he spoke to them by an interpreter, exhorting them to submission, upon promise to spare their lives. To which they answered, "That they would never receive any pardon at his hands, having vowed the contrary," but desired leave to pass by his camp with their wives and children into the wilderness, leaving the city to the Romans. Titus being enraged with this answer, threatened all extremities, most of which were executed; for he caused burn the lower city and Acra, of which he was in possession, and attacked the palace; and upper city so vigorously, that on the eighth of September, being the Sabbath

Sabbath day, he was master of the whole. The rebels, Simon and John, were still in possession of three strong towers, where they might have defended themselves. But being frightened and abandoned by their troops, they only endeavoured to secure themselves, by flying into the subterranean canals belonging to the city. The victors spared no body they found, the whole city was destroyed and levelled with the ground, except three towers called *Phasaelus*, *Hippican*, and *Mariamne*, and a part of the wall on the west side, which Titus allowed to remain as a monument to after ages, of what the city had been. John, the ringleader of the seditious, wanting provisions, came out of the vaults, and surrendered to the Romans, being allowed to live as a perpetual prisoner. Simon was concealed to the end of October. He thought to have escaped in disguise, but was seized, led in the triumph at Rome, and there put to death. His coming out of the common shores, awakened the greediness of the Roman soldiers to search these subterranean vaults, where they found some treasure; and several Jews who expected to have saved themselves there, had their throats cut. During the whole time of the siege, Josephus reckons 110,000 dead and killed, and 97,000 Jews taken prisoners, whose case was very miserable. For the best of their youth were led in captivity to adorn the emperor's triumph at Rome; others of them were sent to labour in metal mines; a great many were destroyed by famine and pestilence.

¹ Joseph. de bello Jud. lib. 7. cap. 24, 25, 26. Xiphil. epit. Dionis in Vespasiano, p. m. 217. ² Joseph. de bello, lib. 7. cap. 20. ³ Ibid. cap. 27.

stroyed by wild beasts and gladiators in the public shows, and others sold for little or nothing.

§ 120. Thus was Jerusalem destroyed, a city remarkable for wealth, strength, and antiquity, having remained from the time of David 1179 years; once famous for true religion, and even since it became degenerate, was by far the most eminent city, not of Judea only, but of the whole east, as even Pliny^k confesseth. The Jews had desired that our Lord's blood might be on them and on their children, Matth. xxvii. 25. And this was a just retribution of divine vengeance, as hath been observed by Prudentius, as in the verses at the foot of the page^l. This is the *abomination of desolation* spoken of by Daniel the prophet, Matth. xxiv. 15. 'Tis memorable, that this fatal siege began a little before the passover, about the very time of the year that they so barbarously put to death the Son of God: So exact a proportion doth divine justice sometimes observe in inflicting punishments. This was not only foretold by our Lord and his apostles, but also signified by immediate prodigies and signs from heaven. A blazing comet in the fashion of a sword hung directly over the city^m for a whole year together. In the feast of unleavened bread, a little before the breaking out of the war, a light shined between the altar and the temple, as bright as at noon day. The east gate of

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^k Plin. nat. Hist. lib. 15. cap. 14. ^l Prudentius in Apotheosi contra Judæos, prope finem — Judæus patria de sede revulsus, Supplicium pro eade Init, Christiane negati. Sanguine conspersus, comissa piacula solvit.

In English, "The Jews, who from their own land banished be, For killing and rejecting Christ, may vengeance see, His blood demands their punishment on me."

^m Joseph. de bello, lib. 7. cap. 12. Corn. Tacitus, hist. lib. 5. cap. 14, 15.

of the inner-temple, all of massy Corinthian brass, which twenty men could hardly shut, after it had been fast locked and barred, was seen to open of its own accord. Chariots and armies were beheld in the air, all in martial postures, as preparing to surround the city. At Pentecost, when the priests entered into the inner-temple, they perceived a noise and motion, and then heard a voice saying, *μὴ τὰ ἅγια ἱερὸν*, *Let us depart hence.* Amidst these calamities, 'tis observable, that the Christians, by the caution which our Lord gave them, *When ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, and the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place; then let them who are in Judea flee to the mountains,* Mark xiii. 14. Matth. xxiv. 15,—18. did betake themselves to a place of refuge. Epiphanius tells us*, That they were commanded to do so by a particular revelation communicated to some pious men among them, and that this was done by the ministry of an angel^o, warning them to leave Jerusalem, and retire to Pella. Accordingly they universally withdrew, and retired thither as to a little Zoar, which being a Gentile city beyond Jordan, they were there saved from the besom of destruction, which swept away the Jews wherever it came: But the Christians seem to have remained in it till about the time of Trajan. As to the Jews, warnings did signify little with them, who were given up to an incurable infatuation.

Titus having finished his affairs at Jerusalem, rewarded

* Epiphani. *Har. 29* operum, tom. 1. p. 123. & *Har. 30*. p. 116.

^o Idem, *de mensuris & ponderibus*, tom. 2. p. 171, edit. Colon. 1682.

Vide etiam Euseb. *hist. Eccles. lib. 3. cap. 5.*

rewarded his soldiers, sacrificed for the victory, and dismissed his army, ordering the tenth legion to keep guard in the desolated place²: And conceiving it was too late in the year, in the stormy season, to undertake a voyage to Rome, he made a progress to Cæsarea, Berytus, and some other places in Syria, where he celebrated the birth-days of his father and brother, and diverted himself by exhibiting shews of sword-players, with other amusements after the Roman fashion. As he passed Jerusalem to go to Alexandria, he lamented with tears the overthrow of so noble a city³, and cursed the seditious who forced him to destroy it.

§ 121. Upon Titus's return to Rome⁴, his father and he were both joined in one magnificent triumph for their victory over Judea, the ceremonies whereof I need not describe. But it deserves to be noticed, that the spoils taken from the temple at Jerusalem, particularly the table of gold, the golden candlestick, with its seven lamps (in honour of the seventh day, says Josephus) and the law of the Jews, were carried before them⁵. The triumphal arch of Titus is yet remaining at Rome, where the representation of the table, the candlestick with its lamps, the trumpets and censers, are still to be seen, concerning which, the learned Adrian Reland hath wrote an elaborate treatise⁶: But these precious monuments are no where to be found. Josephus indeed tells us⁷, "That Vespasian placed the golden vessels and the precious instruments

F 2

instruments

² Joseph. de bello Jud. lib. 7. cap. 19. ³ Ibid cap. 24. ⁴ A. D. 71.
⁵ Vide Villalpandum in Ezekielem, lib. 5. cap. 7. p. 587. ⁶ De Spoliis
 templi Hierosolymitani, Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1715. ⁷ Joseph. de bello,
 lib. 7. cap. 24. in fine.

instruments of the Jews, for which he had a high esteem, in the temple of peace; but their law and the purple vail of the sanctuary, he ordered to be kept in the palace." This temple of peace was burnt to the ground in the reign of the emperor Commodus^u, about the 187th year of the Christian Era; and the question is, what is become of those spoils now? Procopius informs us^x, That when Carcasio in Afric was besieged, it was said the Imperial treasures were there, which Alarick the elder in the former age had carried from Rome when it was taken; and there were the precious rarities of Solomon king of the Hebrews, worthy to be noticed. We understand by Anastasius, the library keeper^y, that these precious monuments were carried from Rome into Afric, in the year of our Lord 450. "Gezerick," says he, "entered Rome without resistance, the third day after Maximus fled from it, and carried away all the money and best things in that city in ships, among which were the ecclesiastical rarities of gold, adorned with precious stones, and the Jewish vessels which Titus the son of Vespasian brought to Rome after the sacking of Jerusalem." In the year 520, when Belisarius had overcome the Vandals, these things were brought out of Africa into Europe. Procopius^z speaks of them when he describes Belisarius's triumph: "Among these trophies," says he, "were the vessels of the Jews, which Titus the son of Vespasian, after the destruction of Jerusalem, carried to Rome, which, when

^u Herodian lib. 1. cap. 44. p. 38. ^x De bello Gothico, lib. 1. p. 343. edit. Regiz. ^y Hist. Eccles. p. 34. edit. Regiz, apud Relandum de Spoliis, cap. ult. ^z Procopius de bello Vandalico, lib. 1. cap. 9.

when a Jew saw, he said to one of the emperor's favourites, "It is not expedient to carry these things into the palace at Constantinople, for they cannot be preserved but where Solomon king of the Jews placed them; Gezerick took Rome because these were laid up among the Gentile nations, and the Romans seized the country of the Vandals."—When this was told to the emperor, he was so struck with fear, that he sent off these spoils to the temple of the Christians at Jerusalem. But what is become of them now, if they be extant, or if that ship to which they were committed arrived in Palestine, we know not: Only they are not now to be seen at Jerusalem, nor, as far we can learn, in any other place.

We may also observe, that on the occasion of this triumph several medals were struck, and monuments erected. One medal is common, having upon one side Vespasian's head and titles, and upon the reverse, a prisoner lying at the foot of a palm-tree, with these words, *Judæa capta*. A marble was some time ago dug up at Rome, with the inscription^a at the foot of the page; upon which we may observe with Mons. Bagnage^b, that this is a plain demonstration that princes were flattered even on marble and in public inscriptions: For this affirms that Jerusalem was never taken but by Titus, and that all preceding kings and generals either durst not attack it, or had done it

F 3

^a S. P. Q. R. Imp. Tito Cæs. Divi Vespasiani filio, Vespasiano Aug. Pont. Max. T. Pot. X. Imp. XVII. Cos. VIII. P. P. Principi suo, qui præceptis Patris consiliisque et auspiciis gentem Judæorum domuit, & urbem Hierosolymam, omnibus ante se ducibus, regibus, gentibus, aut frustra petitam, aut omnino intentatam delevit.

^b Bagnage's History of the Jews,

book first, p. m. 58.

to no purpose. Was the history of Jerusalem so unknown at Rome, that they could alledge a thing so false? Had they forgot Pompey who subdued this city, and made Judea tributary to their republic? Did they not know the various revolutions it had undergone under the kings of Syria and Egypt, since Alexander the Great's conquests? This flattering monument teaches us, that palpable falsehoods are often set down in inscriptions, and therefore these arguments which are deduced from them to prove some facts, are not always solid nor irrefragable.

§ 122. After Titus had triumphed at Rome, Lucilius Bassus was sent into Judea to complete the conquest of that country*. There were three castles which the seditious yet maintained there, namely Herodion, Machærus and Massada. Bassus summoned Herodion, and immediately they within it submitted and were pardoned. Machærus was a place much stronger by art and nature, and well provided, and therefore the garrison adventured to make a defence. But Bassus having caught Eleazar their leader, threatened to crucify him before their eyes, unless they submitted: Whereon they capitulated, and surrendered upon conditions that they might have leave to depart with safety, and have Eleazar restored to them. These terms being agreed to, the besieged in the lower part of the castle fled away by night; of which Bassus being informed, he pursued and killed seventeen hundred^e of them, making their women and children slaves; but kept his promise to the rest

* A. D. 72.

* Joseph. de bello judiaco, lib. 7. cap. 25.

rest of the garrison, permitting them to go and Eleazar with them. Soon after this, Bassus engaged a party of the Jews at Jarden, and killed three thousand of them^a. After this Vespasian wrote to Tiberius Maximus and Bassus to put the land of Judea to sale: For he had resolved to build no city there, but to appropriate the whole country to himself. He also imposed a tribute upon all Jews in whatsoever place they lived, of two drachms a-head to the capitol, as in former times they had been wont to pay to the temple at Jerusalem.

§ 123. Bassus dying in Judea, Flavius Sylva was named to succeed to his command^b. Eleazar a captain of the robbers still held the castle of Massada, a place strong by nature, which Herod the Great had also fortified, and laid up there a great store of arms and provisions, a part whereof remained to this time. The Romans made regular approaches, and summoned the garrison to surrender; but the besieged made an obstinate resistance; and there being no access for battering engines, because of the high situation of the castle, Sylva resolved to burn the walls, being mostly of wood; which the wind favouring him, he did with success. Then Eleazar perceiving the place would be taken next day, exhorted the besieged to be so valiant as to kill themselves rather than fall into the hands of the Romans; which they at last did with great inhumanity, murdering themselves with their wives and children; so that the Romans, when they seized the place

^a Joseph. de bello Jud. lib. 7. cap. 26.
bello Jud. lib. 7. cap. 28.

^b A. D. 73.

^c Joseph. de

place, found only there nine hundred and sixty dead bodies, with one old wife and five children, who having concealed themselves in a vault from the massacre, told the conquerors how the tragedy had been acted. Thus all Judea was subdued, and a great part of it destroyed.

§ 124. Many of the Jewish robbers having escaped into Egypt, there stirred up their countrymen to a revolt; which being discovered, six hundred of them were apprehended; but tho' they were put to cruel torments and death, not one of them would call Cæsar Lord. The governor of Alexandria, by orders from Rome, shut up the temple, which Onias had long ago (as hath been observed) built for the Jews in Egypt, leaving no access for any part of their worship in that place.

The Jewish Sicarians, like some infectious disease, spread into the towns about Cyrene. One John, a weaver, persuaded a great many to follow him into the wilderness, promising there to shew them signs and visions. Catullus, the Roman deputy, sent his soldiers against them, who easily surprized them, being unarmed, killed many and brought in others prisoners. John, or Jonathan, their leader, though escaping at that time, was afterwards seized, and to obtain a reprieve to himself, accused many others, some of them unjustly: Upon which information, Catullus put three thousand of them to death, seized their substance, and boasted that he had ended the Jewish war. After this, Catullus brought Jonathan to Rome, where

¹ Joseph. de bello Jud. lib. 29, 30. & See Vol. III. p. 400. ² Joseph. de bello Jud. lib. 7, cap. 31. & ult.

where he accused Josephus the Jewish historian and others; but the emperor discovering Jonathan to be an impostor, caused first whip and then burn him alive. As to Catullus, though he escaped at that time, yet he soon died of a tormenting disease. Here Josephus puts an end to his history of the Jewish war.

§ 125. It may be expected that I should here give an abstract of the numbers that were killed and destroyed in the seven years of this consuming war; and upon a short review of what hath been already advanced, I humbly conceive the account stands thus. In the beginning of the war, Gessius Florus killed at Jerusalem six hundred and thirty Jews; from the innate hatred which the Greeks bore to that nation, there were killed at Caesarea twenty thousand; at Scythopolis thirteen thousand; at Ascalon in Phœnicia two thousand five hundred; at Ptolemais, two thousand; at Alexandria in Egypt, fifty thousand; at Damascus, ten thousand; at taking Joppa by Gallus, eight thousand four hundred; by him in the mountains, two thousand; at the attack of Ascalon ten thousand; destroyed by Vespasian at the siege and taking of Jotapata forty thousand; at Japha in Galilee fifteen thousand killed, taken captives two thousand one hundred and thirty; at Joppa, drowned four thousand two hundred; at Tarrichæa, killed six thousand five hundred; destroyed in their way to Tiberias, twelve hundred; sent to Nero, six thousand, besides others who were sold, whom I shall not take into the account; at Gamala, killed four thousand; at the

the same place, five thousand wilfully threw themselves over rocks and were slain; Giscala being deserted, two thousand were killed in the pursuit; killed at Jerusalem before the siege, by letting in the Idumæans, eight thousand five hundred; and soon after that twelve thousand; at Garada, killed thirteen thousand; in the villages of Idumæa, ten thousand; during the siege of Jerusalem, killed and died of famine, eleven hundred thousand; taken prisoner, ninety-seven thousand; at Machærus, killed seventeen hundred; at Jardes three thousand; at Massada, who wickedly killed themselves, nine hundred and sixty; killed by Catullus the president at Cyrene three thousand. The total then, destroyed in this war, is fourteen hundred fifty-three thousand seven hundred and twenty Jews. We have seen the history of these particulars confirmed by Josephus already; and yet there are many of their calamities at this time omitted in the account; nor can all their miseries, by famine, banishment and a thousand other ways, be reckoned up, for these were innumerable. By their great wickedness they had provoked a just God to inflict all this upon them; for since they crucified the Son of God our Saviour they never made one right step; and there can be no hope of their recovery, till they look upon him whom they have pierced, and mourn. I shall only add one other passage of Josephus, saying, "I will not cease to speak what grief compelleth me; I verily think, that if the Romans had delayed

¹ Joseph. de bello Judæico, lib. 6. cap. 16.

laid to come against our people, either the earth would have opened its mouth and devoured the city, or it would have been destroyed by a deluge, or by fire and lightening as Sodom, for it was more wicked than that place; in short, by iniquity and obstinacy, the whole nation was destroyed."

§ 126. The calamities of the Jews did not end with Vespasian's reign*; for Titus who ascended the imperial throne, after his father's death, in the year of our Lord 79, continued upon this people the taxation of two drachms a-head, to be paid to the capitol, which they counted a mighty grievance, not merely for the sum, but because it was a badge of servitude, and given for the support of the heathenish worship of Jupiter Capitolinus.

Domitian who succeeded his brother Titus†, raised a persecution against the Christians, about the ninety-second year of the Christian æra, and did not spare the Jews; for he commanded all to be killed who were of the stock of David in Judea‡, lest any of that race should pretend to the kingdom.

Cocceius Nerva, Domitian's successor, was more favourable to the Jews, for he absolved all those who were accused of impiety§, and recalled the banished, which had a respect both to the Jews and Christians. He forbade for the future the subjects of the empire to be tormented for the sake

* A. D. 79.

† A. D. 91.

‡ Eusebii Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. cap. 19. Orosius, lib. 3. cap. 16.

§ Xiphilini epitome Dionis in Nerva, p. m. 140.

fake of religion, impiety or Judaism; and he discharged the Jews of these imposts by which Domitian had oppressed them. Hence on a medal coined at that time, these words are engraven, *Calumnia fisci Judaici sublata*, which is not to be understood as if the capitation tax had been repealed; for the didrachm was paid by every head in Origen's time^m, but the calumny was abolished, that is, the Jews were no longer oppressed by great fines on false pretences, as had been done in Domitian's reign. About this time lived the poet Ezekiel, who composed the departure from Egypt in Greek verse: And at the same time is placed the author of the will of the twelve patriarchs; for he speaks of the destruction of Jerusalem, of some actions of the Messiah, and of the writings of the evangelists, like one who had seen them.

§ 127. In Trajan's reign, which commenced with the year of our Lord 100, and continued to 119, the calamities of the Jews increased*, or rather their folly made them venture upon mutiny and sedition, and they could never have timed it worse than in the reign of so brave and so warlike a prince. In the last year save one of Trajan's reign, the insurrection began in Cyrene, a city of Libya, where the Jews had a settlement for many ages. Eusebiusⁿ tells us, "That in the first conflict they had some advantage over the Gentiles; but these who fled from them escaping to Alexandria, so alarmed that city, that the Jews who

^m Origen. ad Afric. p. 143.

ⁿ A. D. 118.

^{*} Hist. Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 2.

who dwelt there were almost all destroyed. The Cyrenian Jews being provoked by these sufferings of their countrymen, rose under the conduct of one Lucas, and destroyed all their neighbours. Of which the emperor being informed, he sent Marcus Turbo against them with an army by sea and land, who in several battles killed several myriads of the Jews who supported their king Lucas. The emperor also fearing that the Jews in Mesopotamia would assist those in Afric, he commanded Lucius Quintus to drive them out of that province; who destroyed a great multitude of them in battle: For which service the emperor made him president of the province." The compendizer of Dion Cassius gives this account of the matter^o: "The Jews who inhabited Cyrene under one Andreas their captain, killed both the Romans and Greeks: They fed upon their flesh, ate their bowels, besmeared themselves with their blood, wore their skins, cut many a-funder, threw others to wild beasts, or made them fight with one another, (I follow a heathen author, whom I have cited; but do not affirm that the Jews were guilty of all these barbarities) so as our author proceeds, they destroyed two hundred and twenty thousand people. Moreover, in Egypt and in Cyprus, under one Artemion their leader, there was a like slaughter of the Cypriots, two hundred and forty thousand of them being destroyed. But the emperor sent Lucius his lieutenant, who defeated and destroyed the Jews

^o Xiphilini Epitome Dionis, p. 234, 235.

Jews in every place, and no Jew was suffered any more to enter that island, and if any was but driven ashore there by tempest, he was immediately to be killed." This order being put in execution, few Jews in after ages have been found in that place.

§ 128. *Ælius Hadrianus*, the adopted son of *Trajan*, succeeded him in the empire. He completed the miseries of the Jews, bringing them to such a wretched poverty, that they were obliged to get their bread by interpreting dreams and telling of fortunes^p. In this prince's reign, there was a great insurrection of near two hundred thousand Jews. The occasions of this commotion are represented to have been, That the emperor forbade them to be circumcised^q; that he sent a colony to Jerusalem, and built a city upon its ruins, calling it *Ælia* by his own name^r, and consecrated it to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. Finally, *Barchochebas*, a cunning Jewish impostor, knew how to make his advantage of the disturbance which these things created in the minds of the people, in order to excite them to war. Ever since the Jews rejected our blessed Lord Jesus, the true Messiah, they have been easily cheated by impostors and deceivers^s, of which several instances have been given already, and others will come in our way in the progress of this work. This cheat called himself *Barcochab*, a rising Star, alluding to Num. xxiv. 17. But he was soon found

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^p Vide *Juvenal. Sat. 6. v. 542.—547.*

^q *Spartianus in Hadriano.*

^r *Xiphilini Epitome Dionis, p. 262, 263. in Hadriano. Orosius, lib. 7. cap. 12. f. Act. v. 36, 37.*

to be Barcosabb or Cosiba¹, a liar or false Messiah. The Jews dissembled their resentments, till the emperor had performed his journey through Egypt and Syria, and returned to Rome; but then they gathered in great numbers: Even their rabbi Akiba followed Barcosabb with twenty-four thousand scholars², proclaiming him to be the true Messiah. The Romans at first did not mind the commotion; but finding it like to draw to a height, and that the world was shaken by it, the emperor sent Tinnius Rufus against them, who was not acquainted with the importance of the war; so that even after he had received considerable re-inforcements, he was often beaten. He therefore sent for Julius Severus, one of the greatest captains of the age, from Britain; who not daring to give battle to the over numerous Jews, attacked them in parties, straitened them in their camp, cut off their provisions, and by these means becoming superior to them, he laid siege to Bither, to which they had retired. The city was taken, and Barchochebas was killed. Five hundred and eighteen thousand are said to have been slain in the several engagements³, and the number that perished by famine, misery, fire and other calamities, cannot be reckoned. Fifty famous castles of the Jews were demolished, nine hundred and eighty-five villages were plundered, destroyed, and afterwards burnt; and thus almost all Judea was laid desolate. The Jews were banished

¹ Vide Buxtorfii Synagogam, cap. 36. p. m. 441.

² Vide R. David

Ganz in Tsemach, p. 97. 101, 103.

³ Xiphiln. ubi supra. Eusebii

Chronicon ad annum Christi 135. Id. Hist. Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 6. Hieronymus in Daniel cap. 9.

banished out of the holy land, and prohibited ever to return to it. This war is placed between the vulgar year of our Lord 111 and 136; and this put on the capstone to the Jews calamities, and finished their dispersion, and therefore I here put an end to this chapter: Only it may be observed, that the Romans laying the country desolate, and not furnishing it with colonies, hath been of bad consequence; for by this door, first the Persians, next the Saracens, and then the Turks have entered, and driven the Romans out of the whole house.

war; to that even after he had received command, he was often beaten. He was therefore sent for Julius Severus, one of the greatest captains of the age, from Britain; who not daring to give battle to the ever numerous Jews, attacked them in parties, fastened them in their camp, cut off their provisions, and by this means becoming superior to them, he laid siege to Jerusalem, to which they had retired. The city was taken, and Barchochab was killed. Five hundred and eighteen thousand are said to have been slain in the several engagements; and the number killed by famine, sword, and pestilence, cannot be reckoned. Five hundred cities of the Jews were demolished, nine hundred and eighty-five villages were plundered, destroyed, and afterwards burnt; and thus all Jewish Judaea was laid desolate. The Jews were banished

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C H A P. V.

Of the sects among the Jews that were in being in the time of our Saviour, and at the destruction of Jerusalem, viz. The Samaritans, Sadducees, Caraites, Pharisees, Essenes, and Herodians.

THE unhappy divisions in Judea hastened its ruin: The way whereby God revenged the death of our Redeemer did not make them unite, but while they should have joined their forces against the common enemy, they rather chose to perish by their own differences. Most of the sects yet subsist; and since the different writers and tenets among the Jews spring from them which we are to describe, as making up a considerable part of this history, and interwoven with the whole, it is proper we should now give some account of them.

§ 1. To begin with the Samaritans; I have already taken notice of the erecting of the kingdom of the ten tribes^a, and of their separate worship, which gave the first occasion for this party. We have observed the differences which appeared between the Samaritans and Jews, after their

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return

^a See Vol. II. p. 185.

return from the ^b Babylonish captivity, and have discoursed of the Samaritan pentateuch ^c, and of some other disputes they had with the Jews, in the former part of this work, which I rather chuse to refer the reader to, than here repeat; and therefore shall only now consider the state of the Samaritans from our Saviour's coming into the world. From an inveterate hatred to the Jews, the Samaritans in the seventh year, after our Lord's birth, came secretly to Jerusalem, and threw the bones of a dead man near the temple ^d, to defile the house of God, and disturb the devotion of the festival which was then celebrated. About twenty-five years after this, Christ going through the territory of the Samaritans, found a woman drawing water at Jacob's well, of whom he asked drink. She was surpris'd at it, because the Jews had no correspondence with the Samaritans ^e: Yet our Lord, who *was come to seek and save the lost sheep of Israel*, converted this poor woman, and by her means several others. They had no doubt a great disadvantage in learning Christianity; for as they only admitted the books of Moses, and rejected the writings of the rest of the prophets, they were deprived of these oracles which did most plainly characterize the Messiah: However, they might mind the prophesy of Jacob, Gen. xlix. 10. and many other things in the Mo-
saic writings, which did point him out. About the same time this poor people were deceived by an impostor, who promised to discover to them the holy vessels which Moses hid in some corner
of

^b See Vol. II. p. 372, 373.

^c See Vol. III. p. 47, 48.

^d Joseph.

Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 3.

^e John iv. 9,—24.

of mount Gerizzim. Moses never set his foot in the holy land, only saw it at afar off; so the cheat was plain: However, the impostor drew the mob after him^c, who seized a large village, where they expected the rest of their nation to see the discovery. Pontius Pilate, then procurator of Judea, being informed of it, sent a detachment against this croud, who put them to the rout, and the ring-leaders of the sedition were put to death. Vitellius, president of Syria, to whom complaints were made of Pilate's cruelty, thought a popular error did not deserve so severe a punishment; and therefore sent Pilate to Rome there to answer for his conduct: But he did not reach that city till the death of Tiberius; and we have already heard what became of him^e in Caligula's reign. Another misfortune happened them in the reign of Claudius, while Cumanus was procurator of Judea, about killing some Jews: But I have already^b noticed this whole story.

Samaria felt the sad effects of the war, which the nation maintained against Nero and Vespasian, being burnt at the beginning of the insurrection. The inhabitants thereof afterwards retiring to mount Gerizzim, it was believed that they designed to rise: Whereupon Cerealis a tribune was sent to force them to lay down their arms and submit. He attempted, but not being able to persuade them to comply, he blocked them up; and understanding that many of them died for thirst^f, he advanced upon the mountains, and attacked them so successfully, that 11,600 were

G 2

killed

^c Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 5.

^e See p. 33.

^b See p. 33.

^f Joseph. de bello Jud. lib. 3. cap. 13.

killed on the spot. This slaughter made them yield to Nero, yea, to worship him as a god, who killed them as a cruel man, which is proved by a medal in the French king's closet, published by cardinal Noris^k, stamped for Nero, in the fourteenth year of his reign. On the reverse is the goddess Astarte, who with a tower on her head, holding the image of Osiris in one hand, with a motto, as at the foot of the page^l, signifying, "Samaria hath caused this medal to be stamped for the august and great gods." After the war some new inhabitants were sent thither to people and possess it again, who embraced the religion and interest of the country, which exposed them as well as the Jews to Hadrian's hatred. The Samaritan chronicle says, "That after this prince had demolished Jerusalem, he went to Napolouffe, or Shechem, where he took away all their books, not sparing even these which contained their genealogy and history. They were forbidden to circumcise their children, yet they sent them as they came into the world by maid-servants into caves, where they received the seal of the covenant; but they could not so easily avoid eating swines flesh, which the Romans mixed with their meats. They were so hotly persecuted, that the figure of a brazen bird was set up on mount Gerizzim, to hinder them from worshipping there, and some forces were posted at the foot of the mount, to put all to death who would attempt to go thither. Some escaping the centinels went thither,

^k Noris de Epochis Syromaced Diss. 5. p. 525.

^l Θ. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΩΝ ΣΑΜΑΡΙΑ ΗΠΡ. Λ. ΙΔ. Deorum Augustorum magnorum, Samaria.

ther, but were discovered by the bird, which spoke and named the Hebrews; whereupon the soldiers awakening, fell upon those that ascended, and cut their throats ^m." If the Samaritan chronicle be all of a-piece with this, we have no great hopes of any solid information by it. In Commodus's reign, the Samaritans, to gain his favour, complied with some parts of idolatrous worship. When Niger revolted, they preserved their loyalty, and sided with Severus; and therefore this prince sent a colony thither to people the country. Benjamin of Tudela, who about the year 1170 went through all the synagogues of the Jews in most places of the world, found but about a hundred Samaritans in a poor wretched condition at Shechem, where they continued to offer sacrifices.

As to their present state, there are yet some Samaritans at Napolouffe, which is old Sichem, situate between mount Ebal and mount Gerizzim. They observe the law of Moses more exactly than the rest of the Jews. There they have the tomb of Joseph, and the bones of that patriarch (as they think) that were brought out of Egypt, and some priests of the house or posterity of Aaron. They offer sacrifices upon mount Gerizzim, according to the ancient rites, and have a high-priest who resides there, who appoints the day of the passover, and of all other festivals to the Samaritans that are dispersed. In the year 1686, they wrote to their brethren in England, to give them notice of the death of their high-priest, and to ask alms for their poor, who are doubtless the greatest part

of

G 3

^m See the Samaritan Chronicle in *actis eruditorum Lipsiæ*, ad annum 1691, p. 167.

of that small body. 'Tis remarkable, that they have maintained themselves in their native country for so many ages, notwithstanding the many persecutions they have undergone since the reign of Jeroboam. Mr. Ludolf, a man profoundly skilled in the oriental languages, at the end of the last century, kept a correspondence with these Sichemites; and in the year 1688, printed a letter which he received from them. Their present state may be further known by Dr. Huntington's letters, printed at London in the year 1704. This learned gentleman tells us, That he had seen them at Cairo and Napolouffe, had corresponded with, and examined them upon several things which common travellers omit^a; that there are no Samaritans at Damascus; and though these of Sichem boast of their numerous brethren at Cairo, yet he saw there only one Samaritan and his wife, and these very poor. Their synagogue is a little nasty obscure chamber, where are kept two copies of the law, said to be five hundred years old. They have a form of prayer, and the book of Joshua, which contains a very short chronicle from the creation of the world to Mahomet. This false prophet is cursed at the end of the book: But that word is written in Samaritan, that the Arabians may not understand it. Lastly, they keep in this library some commentaries on the law, written in Arabic, which is the language they commonly use, except when they quote any passage of the law, or write the names of their high-priests, for then they use Samaritan letters.

These

^a See Huntington's Letters, Smith vita Huntington.

These of Sichem or Napolouffe are for most part farmers of the customs, and collectors of the tribute at Sichem, Gaza, Joppa, or else secretaries to the Basba, which gives them some small business. They walk in the streets well enough dressed, and are not so poor as in other places. Their principal Merchib ben Yacobs wrote to Dr. Huntington at Jerusalem. The letters were signed by eighteen persons, which were almost all who were of any consideration at Sichem. These Samaritans boast of a copy of the law written by the hand of Ahisha the son of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the high-priest. The doctor in a second journey to Sichem, examined the copy with his own eyes, but could not find any such words; and the Samaritans confessed that they were not now in their copy, some body had maliciously expunged them: And 'tis questioned if that copy be ancient. The same doctor, who was a critic in oriental antiquities, has observed⁹, upon examining many Samaritan copies, that there is perhaps not any of them five hundred years old. All the Samaritans mortally hate the Jews: They do not pronounce the name Jehovah. Their notions of the Messiah are very confused: But they always speak very honourably of him, and do not much declaim against those who worship him. 'Tis probable that their hatred to the Jews makes them more moderate to the Christians. They formerly used the *Æra* of the Seleucidæ, as long as the Grecian empire continued; but now they are subject to the Mahometans,

⁹ See Huntington's Letters, Smith vita Huntington.

metans, they count by the years of the Hegira, and reckon 6130 years from the creation of the world to the year 1690, when they wrote to our author. They hardly understand the old Samaritan tongue, and are obliged when they read it, often recur to a paraphrast.

I shall only add the confession of their faith, which their high-priest Eleazar sent to Scaliger at his desire, in name of the synagogue of Sichem; though, not coming till after Scaliger was dead, it fell into Mons. Peiresc's hands; where they inform us^p, "1. That the Samaritans observe the Sabbath with all the exactness commanded; for never a one of them stirs out of the place where he is on that day, save only to go to the synagogue, where they read in the law, and sing praises to God. On this night they do not lie with their wives, and they neither kindle any fire themselves, nor employ any body to do it for them: Whereas the Jews break the Sabbath in all these particulars; for they go out of town, have fire kindled for them, and lie with their wives, without so much as washing themselves after they have touched them. 2. They look upon the passover as the chief of all their feasts; they begin it at sun-set, with the sacrifice appointed for it in Exodus; but they never sacrifice in any place except mount Gerizzim, where they read the law, and pray to God; after which the chief priest gives a blessing to the congregation. 3. They keep also the feast of harvest seven days: But they do not agree with

^p Leo of Modena, of the present Jews, p. 264 & seq. Bafnage's History of the Jews, book 2. chap. 4 p. m. 93.

with the Jews as to the day on which it ought to begin; for these reckon from the day after the solemnity of the passover; whereas the Samaritans reckon fifty days to the beginning of the day before the Sabbath, which is the week of unleavened bread, and the day after the seventh Sabbath following, begins the feast of harvest. 4. They keep the feast of expiation on the tenth day of the seventh month. They spend the whole twenty-four hours in praying to God, and singing, without eating any thing; for, except the children who are at the breast, all the rest fast: Whereas the Jews excuse all from fasting that are under the age of seven years. 5. The fifteenth of the same month they celebrate the feast of tabernacles, upon the same mount Gerizzim. 6. They never defer circumcision beyond the eighth day, as is commanded in Genesis; whereas the Jews do sometimes put it off longer. 7. They are obliged to wash themselves in the morning after they have lien with their wives, or if they have fallen into any impurity by night; and all sorts of vessels which are capable of being defiled, become so, when they touch them before they have washed themselves. 8. They take away the fat of the sacrifices, and give the priests the shoulder, the cheeks, and the belly. 9. They do not marry their wives, as the Jews do: And they have but one wife, whereas the Jews have more. 10. They believe in God, in Moses, and in mount Gerizzim: "Whereas (they say) the Jews place their confidence in the commands of others, we do nothing but what is commanded in the law of the Lord by the ministry

try of Moses: The Jews leave that which the Lord hath commanded in the law, to follow the inventions of their fathers and doctors." Eleazar added, "That they reckoned one hundred and twenty-two high-priests from Aaron to their time, of whom they have a catalogue and succession." They believe themselves to be of the posterity of Joseph by Ephraim, and that all of their high-priests are descended from Phinehas; whereas the Jews have not one of that family. They boast that they only have preserved the Hebrew characters which God made use of to promulgate the law; whereas (say they) the Jews have a way of writing from Ezra, which is cursed for ever." Many attempts have been made to convert them, but they are stubbornly wedded to their sect. They have been oppressed instead of being made Christians, and are reduced to a small number by poverty and misery.

§ 2. I now go to the Saducees, who seem to have taken their rise in the time of Antigonus of Socho, president of the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem⁹ about the year before Christ 263; after the creation of the world 3687; who having in his lectures often inculcated upon his scholars, "That they must not serve God in a servile manner with respect to the reward, but out of filial love and fear which they owed to him;" Sadoc and Baithos[†], two of his disciples, infered from thence, "That there were no rewards at all after this life;" and separating from the school of their master, taught, "That there was no resurrection, nor future state, but

⁹ See p. 274. [†] Liber Cofri, p. 240. Ganz Tsemach, p. m. 67.

but all the rewards God gave to those who served him, were in this life only." Many being perverted by them to this opinion, they began that sect among the Jews, which from the name of Sadoc were called Sadducees; who differed from Epicurus only in this, That though they denied a future state, yet they allowed the power of God to create the world, and his providence to govern it; whereas Epicurus denied both the one and the other. Some authors are of opinion^r, that at first the Sadducees only differed from other Jews as to the point of unwritten traditions, which the others approved of, but they stuck to the written word only; and while they went no further, they were in the right. When John Hyrcanus deserted the sect of the Pharisees, and went over to the Sadducees, no other alteration is mentioned^t then to have been made by him, but his annulling all the traditional constitutions of the Pharisees. Moreover, Hyrcanus having the character of a just and religious prince^u, 'tis not likely that he would embrace so impious a doctrine as that of denying a resurrection and a future state, especially in the latter end of his life, when this was done; and hence it may be supposed, that this impiety had not then infected that sect.

But at whatever precise time these opinions were introduced, 'tis certain that in the time of our Saviour, the Sadducees were a very impious sect; for we find by the inspired writings^x, that they denied the resurrection, and said, "There is no resurrection,

^t Prideaux's Connection, part 2. p. 332. ^r Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18. ^u Idem, de bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 3. ^x Matth. xxii. 23. Mark xii. 18. Acts xxiii. 8.

resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit :” The same is owned by Josephus⁷. When men come to lead wicked lives, which they dare not avow before God, they are fond to embrace any opinion that would seem to exempt them from his punishment. This gave rise to the impiety of Epicurus, of the Sadducees, and of the modern deists. Under the Asmonæan princes, the Jews grew prosperous, powerful, and rich : Their wealth produced luxury and vice ; and to free their consciences from fear of accounting for these enormities, they introduced this doctrine : And Josephus⁸ tells us, that they were men of quality and riches who were of this sect. A second point of the heresy maintained by the Sadducees, was about free-will and predestination : For whereas the Essenes held all things to be predetermined and fixed in an unalterable concatenation of causes, and the Pharisees allowed a free-will in conjunction with predestination, the Sadducees, differing from both, denied all manner of predestination whatsoever⁹, their doctrine being, “ That God made man absolute master of all his actions, with a full freedom to do good or evil as he should please, without any assistance as to the one, or restraint as to the other.” A third point is, That the Sadducees rejected all the written word, except the five books of Moses. But this is controverted. Dr. Prideaux^b infers, from the dispute that Christ had with the leaders of this sect in the gospel^c, that there can be no reason given why, while there are so many texts in

⁷ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 2. ⁸ Ibid. & lib. 13 cap. 28. ⁹ Idem, Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 9. & de bello Judaico, lib. 2. cap. 7. ^b Connection part 2. p. 337. ^c Matth. xxii. 34. Mark xii. 26 Luke xx 37, 38.

in the psalms and prophets that plainly prove a future state and the resurrection from the dead, our Lord took his argument by a consequence from Exod. iii. 6. but that he knew that the Sadducees had rejected the prophets and Hagiographa, and would admit no argument but from the law only. Other learned men, particularly Scaliger^d and Basnage^e, are of opinion, that it doth not appear the Sadducees rejected any part of the canon of the scriptures, but only opposed tradition; for they taught and prayed in the temple, where all the prophets were read: And Josephus^f plainly owns, that they received what was written. Others contend, That though the Sadducees did not absolutely reject these inspired writings, yet they did not believe they were of the same authority as the law of Moses. I shall not take upon me to determine this question: To be sure the former errors, and this also of questioning the authority of any part of the sacred writings, were very dangerous and hurtful.

The Sadducees were a powerful sect before the destruction of Jerusalem. Caiaphas who condemned our Lord, was of their number, Acts v. 17. and many of them were cruel persecutors: For we find another high-priest of that party, named Ananus, a bloody man, who taking the advantage of the death of Festus and absence of Albinus, he being on his way to take possession of the government, put to death James the brother of our Lord, as hath been before^g related. Sadducism triumphed while he was high-priest; but this

^d Elench, trihæresium, cap. 16.

^e History of the Jews, book 2. c. 6.

^f Locis modo citatis. ^g See p. 41.

this was for a short time. The destruction of Jerusalem weakened this sect extremely; their number being always inferior to that of the Pharisees, they found difficulty after this calamity to appear again, or to make any considerable figure in their nation: Only we may find some new footsteps of them. Almonius, who flourished in the fourth century, is said to have seen them teaching in Egypt^b, and to have wrote against them. But the works of this author being lost, we dare not positively affirm this. 'Tis more certain that the emperor Justinian in the sixth century speaks of them in his novels, while he banished them out of his dominions, and commanded them who taught certain tenets of impiety and atheism, denying the resurrection and the last judgment, to be put to death^c. This law was a new calamity to the party, already very weak: They were obliged to forsake the Roman empire, which was of vast extent, and found new adversaries in other places where the Pharisees were settled. A Jewish historian^d tells us of one Annen or Ananus, in the eighth century, who was head of the Academy of Sora, and declared for the Sadducees, confirming them in their opinions, and protecting them as long as he lived. They are said to have had another powerful patron in the twelfth century, who asserted their interest against the Pharisees, proving the insignificancy of traditions, which were multiplied without number. But after all, except in some few places of Africa, there are no Sadducees now found any where that meet in

^b *Essays of Literature* 1704, p. 190. ^c Justinian. *Authent. Collat.* 9. t. 37. Novel 146. p. 614. ^d Ganz Tsemach David, p. 125.

in a body together. Their small number hath made them so contemptible among the rest of the Jews, that they are not now tolerated; so as none but some loose fellows, and pretended wits cherish those errors in private, to keep up a succession of Sadducism.

§ 3. I proceed next to the Caraites: They agree with the Sadducees in nothing but in rejecting all traditions, and adhering only to the written word: Nor do they absolutely reject traditions, but only refuse to allow them the same authority that they do to the written word. I shall not determine the precise time when this sect did arise: They were in being in the time of our Saviour, and are designed in the gospel by the name of *νομικοί*, *Lawyers*, Luke xi. 45. They ascribe to God some essential and inseparable attributes, which are nothing else but God himself. They exact from the people an implicit faith for the holy scriptures, and condemn all doubts about the divinity of the law. They have no Phylacteries, nor parchments with sentences of the law written on them stuck to the doors of their houses. They call the Jews bridled asses when they see them in the synagogues with their frontlets, and believe the meaning of that text in Deuteronomy, where these seem to be enjoined, to be that God should be remembered by us at our coming in or going out. They pretend to a great deal of temperance and pure morality; are afraid to eat too much, or to be too nice about it: They have a great respect to their masters; and their doctors are charitable and teach for nothing. They are so nice against tradition, that they do not allow the intercalation

calation of months and days to make the lunar year equal to the solar. They worship no idols, no images, no angel nor planet, and quote the second commandment against it; and do not scruple, as other Jews, to name the name of God. The silence of Josephus ought not to be advanced as an argument against the being of this sect. It is true this historian reckons only three different sects of the Jews; thus he omits the Herodians, who appear too plain in the gospel to be disputed: And the Caraites having no peculiar tenets, only teaching the law according to its literal sense, and being still looked upon as doctors of the law, this author could not distinguish them by the name of a particular sect.

But we have already heard of them in the gospel, and we find several footsteps of them in history. Origen puts the difference between the Scribes and Pharisees upon this point; That the scribes do not deviate from the law¹; but the Pharisees, who thought themselves much holier, pretended to interpret it. Jerom^m seems more full; for speaking of Schammai and Hillel, as of two heads of several sects, he assures us, "That from thence sprung the scribes and Pharisees, to whose school succeeded Abibas, whom the proselytes called the master of Aquila, and after him Meir, to whom succeeded Johanan, the son of Zachai, and to him Eliezer." Hillel and Schammai flourished in the first year of Herod the Great, thirty-seven years before the birth of Christⁿ.

Now

¹ Origines in Matthæum, cap. 23. v. 52. edit. Hoetii, Tom. 1. p. 218.

^m Hieronymus in Esaiam, cap. 8. v. 14. operum tom. 5. fol. m. 18.

ⁿ See Vol. IV. p. 309.

Now the scribes were not secretaries of state, nor copyists of the law, who had been a long time before Schammai, whom Jerom represents as their founder: But they were the same with the Caraites, who in his time vigorously opposed traditions. In process of time the Jews, who were fond of traditions, gathered them into that voluminous book called the Talmud, to which they required the same veneration as to the holy scriptures, founding all the articles of faith upon its dictates, and pretending to regulate their practice in all things according thereto. This book was published in the sixth century of the Christian era; but when it came to be examined by men of sense among them, they not being able to conceive how such trash, nonsense and fables, as they found heaped up therein, could come from God, were so shocked as they could not give up their faith to it; but reserving that wholly for the written word of God, received the other only as a work of human composition. For some time their dissent on this point went on without any breach or schism among them, till about the year of our Lord 750, Anan, a Jew of Babylonia, and Saul his son, both learned men in their way, having openly declared for the written word only, and publicly disclaimed all traditions, excepting such as agreed therewith; this produced a rent and schism among them^o, so as they became divided into two parties, the one standing for the Talmud and its traditions, and the other rejecting both, as containing in their opinion the inventions of men, and not the doc-

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trines

^o See of these Caraites, an ancient Jewish book, called *Liber Cofit*, with Buxtorf's translation and notes, from p. 391. to 339, edit. Basil. 1660.

trines nor commands of God. These who stood for the Talmud and its traditions being chiefly the Rabbins and their scholars, this party had the name of Rabbinists; and the others, who were for the scripture, were called Caraites, that is to say Scripturarians, from Kara, which in the Babylo- nish tongue, signifies the scripture. This sect is still in being: Benjamin of Tudela, in the twelfth century, found at Constantinople five hundred of them^a, and others of them in other places, to which he travelled. They are men of the best learning and probity of all the Jewish nation. There are few of them in the western parts; most of them are to be found in Poland, Russia, and in the eastern countries. In the middle of the last century, there was an account taken of their numbers; whereby it appears that there were in Poland about two thousand of them^a; at Casta in Tartaria Crimæa twelve hundred; at Cairo three hundred, at Damascus two hundred, at Je- rusalem thirty, in Babylonia one hundred, and in Persia six hundred. But all these put together make but a small party in respect of the great bulk of the Jews who are on the other side. They read the scriptures and their liturgies every where publicly and privately, in the language of the country where they dwell. At Constantinople they have them in Greek, at Casta in Turkish, in Persia, in the Persian, and in Arabic where that is the vulgar tongue. The hatred between them and the Rabinnists or Traditionists is impla- cable: There is no correspondence nor marriages between

^a P Itineraria Benjaminis, p. m. 353, & alibi passim. ^q Hottingeri Thesau- rus Philolog. inter addenda, p. 383.

between them; yea, they imprecate curses upon one another.

§ 4. But the Pharisees were the most numerous of all the sexes among the Jews; for they had not only the scribes and all the learned men of their party, but also the body of the common people. I shall not be peremptory about the time of their origin; we have notice of them by Josephus^r in the time of Jonathan, one of the Maccabees, and ever after this they were a considerable party. They differ from the Samaritans so far, that besides the law, they received the prophets, the Hagiographa, and the traditions of the elders; from the Sadduces, not only in these particulars, but also in their doctrines about a future state, the resurrection of the dead, predestination, and free will. The inspired writings tell us, *That whereas the Sadduces say there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit, the Pharisees confess both*; that is, they own that there is a resurrection, and they confess the being of angels and spirits. But according to Josephus^s, this resurrection of theirs is no more than a Pythagorean transmigration; for he tells us, that the Pharisees say, "That the souls of all men are incorruptible, but only the souls of good men go into other bodies, and the souls of wicked men are sent into everlasting punishment." For their opinion was, That the souls of the wicked, as soon as separated from their bodies, were transmitted into a state of misery; but as to lesser crimes, they were punished in their bodies, which the souls of

H 2

these

^r Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18 & lib. 17. cap. 3. lib. 18. cap. 2. & de bello. lib. 2. cap. 7. ^s Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 9. ^t Acts xiii. 8.

^u Joseph. de bello Jud. lib. 2. cap. 7.

these that committed them were sent into. According to this notion, Christ's disciples asked him, concerning him that was born blind, *Who did sin, this man or his parents?* Which plainly supposes an antecedent state of being, otherwise it cannot be conceived that a man could sin before he was born. And when the disciples told Christ, that some said *that he was Elias, and others Jeremiah, or one of the prophets*, the meaning is, that they thought he was come into the world with the soul of Elias or Jeremiah, or of some other of the old prophets transmitted to him, and born with him. But when our Saviour came to bring life and immortality to light, he taught the true resurrection of the same body to be united to the same soul, and thereafter the Jews learned it from the Christians. As to what the Pharisees hold concerning predestination and free-will, Josephus, who was himself a Pharisee, informs us, "That they ascribe all things to fate, yet do not take away the assent of man's will, saying God governs all things by his own pleasure, yet so as man hath a free-will to go into virtue or vice." Still the main distinguishing character of this sect was "their zeal for the traditions of the elder", which they derived from the same fountain as the written word itself, pretending both to have been delivered to Moses at mount Sinai; and therefore they ascribed to both the same authority till at length their traditional law swallowed up their written law, and the bulk of the Jewish nation

* John ix. 2. † Matth. xvi. 14. ‡ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 2.
 De bello Jud. lib. 2. cap. 7. § Ibid. ¶ Matth. xv. 2.—6. Mark
 vii. 3, 4, 7.

nation propagated it. This zeal for traditions, without depending on the written word of God, hath ruined the church upon several occasions. Hence spring the innumerable superstitions of the church of Rome, and these dividing ceremonies which break the peace and harmony of other churches.

Some authors derive the name of a Pharisee from *Paras* a reward³, because they maintained against the Sadduces the rewards of a future state: But others deduce their name from the word *Pharas*, to separate⁴. They were separatists, and indeed separated from those whom they thought sinners or profane, so as not to eat or drink with them⁵. But their chiefest separation was from the common people, whom they called *Am Haaretz*, the people of the earth. This our Lord frequently charged them with, and of making the law of none effect by their traditions⁶, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. To go through all their inventions, would be to transcribe the Talmud, a book of twelve volumes in folio. The whole subject whereof, is to dictate and explain these foolish and fabulous inventions, which this sect imposed. Yet this party has devoured all the rest: For though they were weakened by the destruction of Jerusalem, yet they have always subsisted: And most of the Jewish doctors to this day are Pharisees; and for many ages they have had none to oppose them among that people.

³ Vitringa, Obs. sac. lib. 1. Basnage's hist. of the Jews, p. m. 115.

⁴ Buxtorfi Lexicon Rabbinicum, p. 1851. Prideaux's Connexion, part 2, p. 141. ⁵ Matth. ix. 10. Luke vi. 30. & chap. xv. 2. ⁶ Matth. xxiii. 13, 14. & xv. 5, — 11. Luke xi. 39, — 52.

ple, except these few Caraites, who have been before mentioned.

§ 5. The Essenes originally were of the same sect with the Pharisees, but did set up for a more severe, and perhaps for a more unblameable rule of life than the other. As to fate and free will, they were for an absolute sort of predestination, without allowing man any liberty or choice of his actions. And as to a future state they taught more clearly that the souls of men after their death are transmitted to a state of immortality, either of everlasting happiness or misery, as their actions deserved, without returning either to their own or other bodies for ever. It may be enquired why our Saviour, though he often censured the other sects among the Jews, yet never mentions the Essenes through the whole New Testament? To this it is answered, his silence might proceed from their retired way of living. They abode mostly in the country, and seldom came to cities: Nor were they seen in the temple, nor in any public assembly in our Saviour's time; or they being an honest kind of people, without hypocrisy, gave no reason for that censure which others deserved.

Their way of living was very peculiar and remarkable; of which we may give a view from the writings of Josephus and Philo, the most ancient and only contemporary authors who had seen this sect: but I shall only give a taste of what these authors say concerning them; Josephus tells us^a, "The Essenes are Jews by nation, a society of

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 9. & lib. 18. cap. 2. ^b De bello Jud. lib. 2. cap. 7.

of men friendly to each other, beyond what is to be found among any other people; they have an aversion to pleasure in the same manner as to that which is truly evil. To live continently, and to keep their passions in subjection, they esteem a virtue of the first rate: Marriage they have in no esteem; but taking other mens children while they are yet tender and susceptible of any impression, they treat them as if they were their own flesh and blood, carefully breeding them up in the institutions of their sect: however, they are not absolutely against marriage in others; for that would take away the succession and race of mankind; but, being aware of the lasciviousness of women, they are persuaded that none of them can keep true faith to one man: they have riches in great contempt, and community of goods is maintained among them in a very admirable manner; for not any one of them is to be found possessing more than another; it being a fixed rule in their sect, that every one who enters into it, must give all his goods into the public stock of the society; so that among the whole number, none may be found lower than another by reason of his poverty, or any on the other side lifted up above the rest by his riches; for every man's goods being cast into common, they are all enjoyed as if for one man's use. They look on it as a disparagement to make use of oil, so that if any one of them should happen to be anointed, against his will, they wipe it off immediately, and cleanse their body from it; for not to be nice in the care of themselves, they esteem as a commendable thing: And they always go habited in white garments.

ments." Josephus further describes their devotions, the moderation of their passions, their eating at a common table, their rules for admitting entrants, their strict observation of the Sabbath or seventh day, and other things among them.

Philo the Jew is another author who writes concerning these Essenes. Indeed he is the first who hath left any thing that is transmitted to us concerning them: For Josephus was born in the first year of Caligula the Roman emperor, in the year of our Lord 37, at which time Philo was a man advanced in years: For about two years thereafter, he was sent by the Alexandrian Jews as the head of an embassy to that emperor: Josephus living in Judea, was best qualified to give an exact account of them in that kingdom; and Philo was best acquainted with those of them who were among the dispersed Jews at Alexandria, and other parts in Egypt. He distinguishes this sect into these of Judea and Syria, whom he calls practical Essenes, and these in Egypt and other parts whom he calls Therapeutic or Contemplative; and proceeds thus, "Among the Jews who inhabit Palestine and Syria, there are some whom they call Essians, being in number about four thousand men; according to my opinion, they have their name by reason of their piety, from the Greek word *εσος*, which signifieth holy, though the derivation from thence, be not according to the exact rules of grammar: And whereas they are most religious servers and worshippers of God, they do not sacrifice to him any living creature, but

but rather chuse to frame their minds to be holy, to be an exact offering to him. They chiefly live in country villages, avoiding cities, by reason of the vices that are familiar among citizens, being sensible that as breathing in a corrupt air breeds diseases, so conversing with evil company often makes an incurable impression upon the souls of men. Some of them labour in husbandry, & others follow trades of manufacture, confining themselves to the making such things as are the utensils of peace, to benefit themselves and their neighbours.—Merchandizing, trafficking and navigation, they never so much as dream of rejecting them utterly as incitements to covetousness.—There is no such thing as a servant among them, but they all mutually help and serve each other.—As to philosophy, they leave logic to such as quarrel about words, and do not meddle with natural philosophy, but about ethics or moral philosophy they are much conversant¹. The rest of his account of them is too large to be here inserted, but may be seen by the curious in Philo himself: And as to these whom he calls contemplative Essenes, his narrative may be seen in his writings², or may be found translated by Dr. Prideaux³.

Baronius, Bellarmine, and other papists affirm, that these Essenes were Christian monks formed into that order by St. Mark, who founded the Christian church at Alexandria. It is true Eusebius⁴ hath said, that the Essenes in Philo were Christian monks; but he hath told several things without

¹ Philo Judæus in libro cui titulus Omnis probus liber p. 678 edit. Cal.
² Philo de vita contemplativa, p. 698 ibid. ³ Connection, part 2. p. 354, & seq. ⁴ Euseb. hist. Eccles. lib. 2. cap. 17.

without judgment or truth, of which this is one. For these Therapeutæ or Essenes described by Philo were Jews and not Christians. They were a sect of a long standing in Egypt, who had hymns and writings of ancient date, composed by the leaders of their party, which could not be said of Christians in the time of Philo, who was an old man when he went on an embassy to Rome from the Jews in Alexandria, in the year of our Lord 39, six years only after Christ's death; and his book *De vita contemplativa* concerning these Essenes was writ before this: So there was no time for such societies of Christians to be formed and settled in so regular a manner, as Philo describes those of the Therapeutæ in Egypt, so soon after Christ's death. Besides, if we more narrowly examine the matter, Philo was born in the 723 year of Rome, thirty years before the birth of Christ. He says that he was very young when he wrote his book, and that his studies were interrupted: So that according to this calculation, Philo must have writ before the birth of Christ, and long before there were any Christians at Alexandria. But if we suppose Philo forty years of age when he wrote, he was not then young, and yet Christ was but then ten years old, and had not begun to teach; how then could there be societies of Christians at Alexandria in that time? Add to all this, that the characters which both Philo and Josephus give to the Essenes, do agree to Jews, but not at all to Christians; as that the Essenes observed the seventh day for their Sabbath, but Christians keep the first day of the week. The Essenes keep their Sabbath with such rigour, as our Lord never en-joined.

joined. Josephus tells us^o, "They must not so much as kindle a fire on that day, nor move a vessel out of its place, nor so much as go to stool to ease nature." Our Lord never required such austerities; nay, he tells us^p, *That the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath*; that is, the Sabbath is for the benefit of man, to ease him of his labour and toil, to give him time to take care of his interest in the world to come. Philo plainly says, in his introduction to his book concerning these Therapeutæ, that they were disciples of Moses; and Josephus, in every place where he speaks of them, calls them one of the three sects of the Jews. They were then Jews not Christians. Monks were not introduced into the Christian church for some ages after them. The Infidels and Devils of this age, make another wrong use of what Josephus and Philo record concerning the Essenes; for they would infer, that Christ and his followers were no more than a sect branched out of the Therapeutæ or Essenes. But let them turn all the accounts we have about them as oft as they please, can any of the peculiar doctrines of Christianity be found in any of them? Is there any thing of the redemption of the world by the Messiah, or of the erecting of his spiritual kingdom on earth, or of the two sacraments ever maintained by them? Though they did eat at common tables, as the apostles afterwards did, yet this was never made a law of the Christian religion, as among the sect of the Essenes. It was only practised for a short while, in

^o Joseph. de bello Judæico, lib. 2. cap. 7. ^p Mark ii. 27. Matth. xii. 1.—13.

In the first gathering of the Christian church: But when the church increased, that custom was discontinued, as wholly impracticable. In those moral duties which the Effenes practised, they agree with the Christians; and so do other religions as far as regulated by the law of nature. Many heathens carried moral duties further than the Effenes: Will any therefore say, that Christianity is a religion made out of Heathenism? Besides, almost all the rites peculiar to the Effenes are condemned by Christ and his apostles, in the censures that he and they pass upon the Pharisees; for when he condemns the lower degree in the latter, he certainly approves the higher degree in the former. Thus he condemns their superstitious washings^a, their over rigorous observance of the Sabbath^b, their abstaining from meats which God created for man's use^c, their will-worship, the neglecting and voluntarily afflicting the body, and the like superstitious customs which God never required. Moreover, contrary to the laws of Christianity, they forbid marriage, which God had ordained from the beginning^d, and absolutely condemned servitude, or being servants, which the holy scriptures^e allow of: And they in effect denied the resurrection of the body, in which the Christian hope consists, and absurdly placed the felicity of a future life in corporal enjoyments of a temperate air beyond the western ocean, where they allow the soul no body at all to partake of them, and further, pin down all men to a fatal necessity

^a Matth. xxiii. 25. Mark vii. 1,—13. ^b Matth. xii. 1,—13. Mark ii. 23,—27. ^c 1 Tim. iv. 3, 4. ^d Ibid. & Mal. ii. 15. ^e Philen. v. 9,—11.

necessity in all their actions. Now, when the institutions of this sect carry with them so great a distance and disparity from those of Christ and his apostles, how can the one spring from the other? I have done with the Essenes, if I had once noticed that Herod the Great had a distinguishing favour for them, because Menahem, one of their number, had told him, when he was a boy at school, that he should be king of the Jews². And the same Menahem living to see him advanced to the throne, he sent to know of him if his reign should be long. To which he answered, it might continue thirty years. For this prediction Herod favoured the Essenes as long as he lived. The Romans, on the contrary, hated them very much; but by no means could make them abandon their sect. They are said to have subsisted to the reign of Justinian, but now we have no footsteps of them in any place.

§ 6. The last remarkable sect among the Jews is that of the Herodians. They are twice mentioned in the gospel. In Matth. xxii. 16, 17. they combined with the Pharisees to tempt our Saviour about a nice point, *Is it lawful to give tribute to Caesar or not?* In the other passage, our Lord charges his disciples, *to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the leaven of Herod*, Mark viii. 15. that is, of their pernicious doctrine. It is in vain to look to Josephus for explaining what this sect was; for on all occasions that he speaks on that subject, he mentions only three sects of the Jews, the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. We have a verse in
Persius

² Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 13. in fine.

Persius * that might seem to give some light; but if we look into it, we may see that the poet speaks not of the sect of the Herodians, but of some festival or other, observed probably for the joy of Herod Agrippa's being promoted to the throne in Judea by the favour of the emperor Claudius; as related in the former chapter. But still the main question remains, *What this sect was?* and why they are called Herodians? 'Tis probable enough, that Herod the Great might give occasion for this sect. He was a prince of insatiable ambition; and his flatterers might caress him with the title of the ^oMessias, or deliverer of the Jewish church, while he was alive. But after he was dead, the hatred of the people broke out against him; for his intolerable cruelties, even to his own family; and against those who brake down the golden eagle in the temple, and other enormities. M. Basnage † is of opinion, that Herod the tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea, who reigned in our Saviour's time, might as probably give rise to this sect of the Herodians. He was a prince who had great projects, when he combined with Sejanus, and prepared an arsenal with arms for sixty thousand men. He was also a very cunning man; and therefore our Lord called him *that fox*, Luke xiii. 31. For though he appeared zealous for gathering the taxes for the interest of the Roman emperors, yet he seems to have had some secret designs by his great preparations to cast off the yoke of the Romans, and to set up for himself as the deliverer of the Jews; which designs being discovered

* Herodis venere dies, unclaque fenestra, &c. Sat. 5. v. 180. † See p. 22. ‡ History of the Jews, book 2. cap. ult.

vered at Rome, he was banished to Gaul, as hath been before ^b related, and his sect ended with him. But I am humbly of opinion, that what Dr. Prideaux advanceth, explains to as good purpose the *leaven of Herod*, or his pernicious doctrine. He observes ^c, that Herod the Great differed in opinion from the rest of the Jews, in that he held it lawful to submit to the Romans, to pay them taxes, and particularly to comply with them in their profane, heathenish, idolatrous customs, many of which he promoted, as we have heard in the history of his reign ^d. Though Herod the Great was dead, yet some of his domestics were alive who maintained his opinion. Thus the ancient Syriac version renders Herodians, in Matth. xxii. 16. *the domestics of Herod*. Our Lord then might very justly warn his disciples to beware of a vile compliance with heathens in their profane games, theatrical shews, with other superstitious, idolatrous and cruel customs; and the rather, that the princes of Herod the Great's race, being from his time and forward educated at Rome, inclined to introduce those abominable practices into Judea. And the Sadducees, who denied a future state, seem to have come into the opinions of this sect; for the same persons who promoted the *leaven of Herod* in Mark, viii. 15. are called Sadducees in Matth. xvi. 6. This sect after our Saviour's time evanished, and were no more heard of: And here I conclude this chapter.

C H A P.

^b See p. 18.

^c Connection, part 2. p. 387.

^d See Vol. IV. p. 346.

358, 368 & 387.

vered at Rome he was banished to Gaul as hath
been before related. His last ended with him.
But I am weary of writing, and will leave the
dear reader to explain to a good purpose the
law of Moses, or the Jewish doctrine. The
operation of that law of the Jews directed in op-
tion from the rest of the Jews, so that he held
lawful to submit to the Romans.

C H A P. VI.

*Of the Patriarchs who governed the Jews; of the
princes of the Captivity, and of the principal orders
of their doctors since the destruction of Jerusalem.*

THE Jews who escaped the destruction of Je-
rusalem and the desolation of their country
in the reign of Hadrian, sought a retreat in other
parts of the world. One they found at Babylon,
where many of their nation had remained almost
from the time of the Persian empire. Another
sanctuary they found in Egypt, where for a long
time there had been many families of rich and
powerful Jews capable to support their brethren
now in misery. But these refugees carried with
them a spirit of sedition and rebellion, which be-
came the source of new calamities. 'Tis easy to
conceive that their patriarchs could have no great
authority in so astonishing a desolation. They
were a parcel of poor fugitives, whose misery
made them to be slighted by the Romans. But
their power increased as the people became more
rich and numerous: For the patriarch decided
cases of conscience, and the important affairs of
their nation: He presided over the synagogues,
levied tribute to defray the expences of his visits,
and

and had officers under him; who executed his orders in several provinces. In a word, the dispersed Jews were proud to acknowledge him as their chief, and to depend on him, thereby to maintain some shadow of union. This patriarch had several names given to him upon several occasions. He was called Nasi, is president of the synagogue, *אֲשֶׁר מְנַחֵם אֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל* head or prince of the captivity, head of the fathers, and the splendor of the Jewish nation: Yet, he was not of the house of David, but rather a priest of the house of Levi. There are none of these princes nor patriarchs mentioned by sacred nor profane writers, nor even by the Jewish authors, Philo, or Josephus, before the destruction of Jerusalem; and we have little regard to what the modern Rabbins have fancied concerning them. We must leave to the high-priests the authority of governing the church, while the temple was standing, and own that there was neither prince nor head of the nation, nor patriarch that presided over the sanhedrim in a middle order, between the high-priest and the king. I know a Jewish book, called *Seder Olam Zuta*, or, *the little Chronicle*, now before me, hath a catalogue of the succession of forty heads of the captivity, from the ruin of the first temple by the Chaldeans, and downward as follows: 1. Jechonias, carried away by Nebuchadnezzar. 2. Salathiel his son, under Belshazzar. 3. Zerobabel his son, who brought back the people under Cyrus. 4. Meshulam his son, under whom prophesy ceased. He

Vol. V. of the Jewish History. L. 1. of the Jewish History.

* *Seder Olam Rabba & Zuta*, seu *Chronologia Judæorum major & minor*, cum translatione Genebrardi, p. 140, 150. Basileæ 1580. See also Bafnage's *Hist. of the Jews*, book 6 cap. 13 p. m. 535.

died in the time of the Græcian empire. 5. Hannania, directed by the wise men in the reign of Salmon, Alafcan, and Mapparis, kings of Grecia (strange names, unknown in the history of that time.) 6. Barachia his son. In his time Tolmai wrote the Pentateuch in Greek. 7. Hasiadas his son. In his time Israel was under great tribulation by Nicanor king of the Greeks. 8. Isaiiah his son. 9. Obadiah his son, who died under Herod the Great. 10. Schemaia, who makes the tenth generation after the captivity. 11. Ezekias his son, who was buried at Arbeel. 12. Nathan posthumous. 13. Huna his son. 14. Akob his son. 15. Mahom his son. 16. Johanan his son. 17. Saphat his son. 18. Anam or Hona his son. Samuel the lunatic was his council. Nahardea was taken in his time. He caused himself to be buried in Judea, near Chaja. 19. Nathan his son, with Ezekiel his council, and Rabschefescheth. The Persians resolved to persecute the Jews in the year 245 of the ruin of the temple. 20. Nehemia his son, with his counsellor Schezebi. 21. Achabia his son, with Raba, and Rabada his counsellors. The king of Persia subdued Syria. 22. Mar Hona his brother, instructed by the wise men, with the doctors Abai and Joseph the son of Hama his counsellors. Sapor took Nisibes. 23. Oeba his son, with Raba and Rabana his counsellors, in the year 416 of the desolation of the temple. 24. Rab Chana his brother, and Rab Saphra his brother. 25. Rab Saphra his brother. 26. Cahana his son, with Rabana his counsellor. 27. Hona his nephew. 28. Hona, uncle to the preceding. He married the daughter of Hanina head of the academy. 29. He was

was the ruin of the house of David; for having ill used Hanina, the plague consumed all the family, excepting 30. Zutra posthumous. Isaac head of the academy was killed in his reign. Mir the Great appeared. He saw a pillar of fire. He rebelled against the Persians, acted as king for seven years, was killed. Zutra also was hanged. 31. Zutra his son was obliged to retire to Judea, and to desire the presidentship of some school. He was made president of the senate 452 years after the ruin of Jerusalem. 32. Guria his son. 33. Zutra his son. 34. Jacob his son. 35. Jacob his son. 36. Migas his son. 37. Nehemiah his son. 38. Abdim his son. 39. Jacob, Phinehas's son, master of Hattub. 40. Azaria his brother, who made the eighty-ninth generation. Concerning this list, I shall only remark, that the first thirteen in it are fictitious; for there was no patriarch that presided over the Jews but the high-priest or the king before the destruction of Jerusalem, as before observed; others are dubious, and their chronology false or uncertain; and therefore it is proper to seek for an account of these patriarchs that presided over the Jews since the destruction of Jerusalem from other authors.

The emperor Hadrian being in Egypt, was informed^b, "That a patriarch sometimes came thither, and that some people importuned him to worship Serapis, others would have him to worship Jesus Christ." This man was not a heathen, since they would have forced him to worship Serapis; nor was he a Christian, since he refused to

adore Jesus Christ: Therefore he seems to have been a Jew, and the patriarch of that nation, and the first who enjoyed that office whom we can find. This was Simon III. the son of Gamaliel, who lived in the time of Hadrian. He descended in a right line from Hillel the old: And this dignity remained in his family till the year of our Lord 429, when it was abolished. His usual residence was at Tiberias, a city situated on the lake of Galilee, built by Herod the tetrarch, who gave it this name in honour of Tiberius Cæsar; and its good situation soon rendered it a considerable place. The greatest revenue of the patriarchs was the tribute or impost which he levied upon all the synagogues under his jurisdiction. It was an ancient custom in that nation to bring or send every year a didrachm to the treasure of the temple; which they founded upon the law of Moses, *Exod. xxx. 13.* and it was paid almost to the time of the destruction of the temple by all the Jews, of which we find frequent instances in Josephus. This the patriarch exacted of all synagogues under his jurisdiction. He also nominated the rulers of the synagogues, who frequently bought this dignity of him; and by erecting new assemblies, and judging of differences among them, he increased his salary.

The emperor Theodosius II. was obliged to set bounds to their power. He by a law^e forbade Gamaliel, then the patriarch, to build new synagogues, and commanded Aurelian to demolish those that were little frequented, and that the patriarch

^e Codex Theodosii, lib. 16. tit. 8. de Judæis, lege 22.

patriarch should have no power to judge differences between Christians and Jews: These must be decided by the governors of the provinces. Nor must any Jew dishonour a Christian, whether he be a slave or a free man, with the mark of Judaism, (that is, circumcision) under the pain of punishment conformable to the law." The date of this decree coincides with the year of the Christian *Æra* 415. The fathers of the Christian church seem to have had no great notion of these patriarchs; Cyril of Jerusalem insulted their extraction, and maintained it would be a shame to search into the baseness of their race: He denied their descent from David. Chrysostom would not allow them to be of the race of Aaron. Others accused them of great corruption in manners, and insatiable avarice. Their power was mightily abridged by the emperors Arcadius and Honorius, in the year of the Christian *Æra* 399, who ordered^d, "That the money that used to be levied for the use of those Jewish patriarchs, by their apostles and missionaries, should in all time coming be paid to the Exchequer; and let the Jews know, that this office of robbery or exaction was taken away by law." And the emperors Theodosius II. and Valentinian, in the year of our Lord 429, entirely abolished this office^e.

The lives of these patriarchs are full of rabbinical fables, and therefore a short account of them may be sufficient. We have already fixed their origin in the time of Simeon III. the son of Gamaliel, in the reign of the emperor Hadrian.

^d Codex Theodosii, lib. 14. ^e Ibid. lib. 29.

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^d Codex Theodosii, lib. 12. ^e Ibid. lib. 29.

The modern Jews make him head of the academy, successor to Akiba, and colleague to Meir, with whom he had many controversies. His power extended over the Jews from the school of Tiberias unto Egypt. Juda the saint was Simeon's son, and succeeded his father. He lived under three emperors, who persecuted the Christians, but were favourable to the Jews, viz. Antonius Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. The first took possession of the empire in the year of our Lord 138, and the last died in 194: So that Juda's patriarchal authority continued fifty-six years^f. He was born the same day that Akiba died; and they imagined that this was foretold by Solomon, saying, *The sun ariseth, and the sun goeth down*. He became venerable by the repetition of the law that he published, which is a code of the civil and canon institutes of the Jews called Mishnah; which he thought absolutely necessary, because his nation being dispersed in so many places, had forgot their rites, and would have swerved from the religion and laws of their ancestors, if they trusted them only to their memory. He divided this work into six parts. The first runs upon the distinction of seeds in the field, as trees, fruits, tithes, &c. The second regulates the observation of feasts: The third treats of women, and determines matrimonial causes: The fourth turns upon the suits that proceed from commerce; to which is added a tract concerning idolatry, because it is one of the important articles upon which judgment depends: The fifth part respects oblations; And in the

^f Ganz Tsemach David, p. 107.

the last is examined all that is necessary to purification*. This work hath been translated into Latin by Syrenhusius with Maimonides and Bartenora's notes, printed at Amsterdam in six volumes *in folio*, 1702. Here are the oral ordinances of Moses on mount Sinai, as the modern Jews call them, which they receive with the same respect as those on sacred record, though there be no proof that ever Moses was the author of them: Here are the different opinions about these, with the maxims and sentences of wise men, called *the bodes of the law*; and here are ancient usages and customs, imposing upon posterity the necessity of following them. It is probable that he wrote this book about the 180 year of the Christian Æra, being then forty-four years of age, after that by long experience he had learned to decide the questions in the law. By this book he acquired such reputation, that he put himself above the laws, exempted himself from all censure, and disposed of all offices. He carried this pride to the grave; for he ordered his body to be carried with pomp through the great cities, and lamentations to be every where made for him: And the Jews^b tell us, that all the cities ran to his funeral; the day was prolonged, and the night retarded, till every one returned to his house, and had time to light a candle for the Sabbath. The daughter of the voice was heard pronounce, "That all who followed the funeral pomp should be saved, except one;" who fell into despair, and broke his neck. *believe that he was the author of the Mishnah.* Gamaliel

* Of the subdivisions in the Mishnah, see Galatinus de Arcanis lib. 1. cap. 5. p. 15, — 16. ^b Basnage's History of the Jews, book 3. cap. 3. p. m. 157.

Gamaliel was chosen by his father to succeed as patriarch. He confirmed the Mishnah which his father had published, and died in the year 101. His son Juda succeeded him, and lived till towards the end of the third century. Hillel III the son of Juda did three things which have been thought advantageous to his nation. First, he fixed the Epocha from the creation of the world, reckoning the years from thence, and abolishing the *Æra* of the Seleucids, and others that had been formerly in use. By this calculation our Redeemer was born in the year from the creation 3760; whereas we reckon 3950: This *Æra* of the Jews falls 190 years short of it. Secondly, Hillel composed a cycle of nineteen years, by which he reconciled the course of the sun with that of the moon by the help of seven intercalations. He reformed the *Tekuphas*, or the reckoning of the equinoxes and solstices. He was a man of good sufficiency; for Origen consulted him upon important occasions. His conversion to the gospel made him to be beloved of the Christians, but hated of the Jews, who speak nothing of this last part of his life. However, their silence doth not make this affair doubtful, since they have no historical monuments of that time remaining; and it is enough that Epiphanius relates the fact in a manner not to be contested; for he tells us, "That he had it from the mouth of one of his apostles; that the patriarch Hillel was descended from Gamaliel, who had been also a patriarch, and from Gamaliel who soon after our Lord's death advised the

¹ See Bartolacci's *Tables Bib. Rabbinica*, Tom. 2. p. 416, 548. & *q. 1*
² *Hiz. 30. operum* Tom. 1. p. 126. edit. Colon. 1682.

the Jews to abstain from persecuting the apostles. Perceiving his own death to approach, he sent for the Bishop of Tiberias, under pretence of consulting him for his disease as a skilled physician. The domestics brought water, and they being dismissed, the patriarch earnestly desired to be baptized in the name of Christ; which the bishop immediately performed." This was done in the reign of Constantine the Great, and probably about the year of our Lord 310.

Hillel left his son a minor under tutors, who educated him in the principles of the Jewish religion. He became also patriarch, and recompensed one of his tutors named Joseph with preferment. The Jews finding that he loved Christianity, and dissembled with them as his father Hillel had done, treated him with that violence, as obliged him to complain to the emperor Constantine, by whom he was well received, and obtained the privilege of building many churches for the Christians. By this undertaking he enriched himself, so that he was able to rear up fine houses for his own use at Scythopolis, where Eusebius of Vercell being then banished (for opposing the Arians) by the emperor Constantius, with Epiphanius¹, went to see him. He was then an old man, and he with another converted Jew maintained the orthodox faith in opposition to Arianism. They had with them the gospel of John and the Acts of the apostles translated into Hebrew. Juda his pupil, was patriarch of the Jews in the year 356; and by Epiphanius's account,

¹ Epiphanius hæc. 30. operum tom. I. p. 126, 127.

count, seems to have been a man of a lewd conversation. After his death, Julian the emperor, called the Apostate, writing to the community of the Jews^a, speaks of another patriarch named Julian or Hillel: This was in the year of our Lord 363. This Hillel was the son of Juda, and seems to have kept his office to the year 385 or thereby. Then appeared the last of the western patriarchs named Gamaliel: Jerom speaks of him about the years 392, as a man who then had long controversies with Hefychius^b. He practised medicine, for many of these Jewish patriarchs, and also the Christian bishops being then poor, could not well live on their revenues, but were obliged to follow some other lawful business. Gamaliel held this dignity in the year of our Lord 415: Then the imperial laws above named^c, lopt off a part of his authority, and the office itself was abolished in the year 429.

§ 2. The dispersed Jews residing in the east about Babylon, had also some heads of the captivity. But the Jews themselves are ignorant of the events that concerned their nation in those remote parts of the world; and few books have arrived from thence to instruct us. Refugees seldom desire to write the history of their own calamities. The first head of the captivity who appears among them, was one Huna, about the end of the second, and beginning of the third century: The tyranny of the Parthians in the east being broke under the reign of Alexander Severus, this office was erected, and Huna flourished till

^a Julian epistola. 25. operum, p. 306.

^b In Euseb. cap. 3. ^c See p. 120.

till about the year of our Lord 220. These princes were installed with a great deal of pomp and ceremony. They for some time had their residence at Mahazia^p, but it was translated to Babylon or Bagdad; there he is said to have had ten courts of justice over which he presided; and there were twenty-eight synagogues, of which one belonged to the patriarch, supported with marble pillars of all colours. Before the chest, which contained the law, was a tribunal raised with ten steps, on which was placed a seat for this head of the captivity and his family. His power extended over all the dispersed Jews in Assyria and Chaldaea, and in the kingdom of the Parthians. Esdras commonly calls them orientals, in opposition to those who lived in Judea and Egypt, who are often called occidentals. He conferred ordination on all the heads of the synagogues of the east, and received from them contributions necessary to support his dignity, and pay the tribute exacted by the kings of Persia. The heads of the academies did commonly partake with him in his command. The prince was to be of the house of David: But it would have been most difficult, if not impossible, to have observed this in a place where there were so few of the tribe of Judah and little Benjamin. It was only imagined, that they might not be in any thing inferior to those who were continued in Judea; where the patriarchs descended from Hillel traced their pedigree up to David, to raise the glory of their nation. The Jews about Babylon subsisted in the eleventh century; when they received a deadly

^p Solomon ben Virga hist. Judae. p. 302.

deadly blow: Their famous academies being shut up, the people and disciples fled to the west, particularly to France; where they taught some years with reputation. The heads of the captivity lost their power by the desertions of their people, and the oppression of the infidels; only their name remained till the twelfth century, since Benjamin de Tudela, who travelled into those parts found one still there; but we hear of no footsteps of them since that time. This is a general idea of them: They will afterwards come in our way when we discourse of the dispersions of the Jews in the east. Meantime I proceed to consider the succession of the doctors in Israel, and the different orders of masters, that we may the better know from what fountain their present religion, and many ceremonies which they observe, do spring.

The Jews are persuaded that God gave two sorts of laws on mount Sinai: One that Moses wrote in the inspired books, and another which he trusted to his memory, and was transmitted to posterity by the ministry of doctors and prophets. By the help of this imagination, they make God say what they please; and the people must obey whatever they fancy. It is not difficult to carry down these traditions and oral laws from mouth to mouth, while there were priests, prophets and writers on scripture-record; they can chuse in sacred history the fables that best please them. But the confusion is greater from Ezra to Juda the saint! However, they have made up a kind of succession, tho' they do not all agree in it: For they tell that after Moses's death, Joshua delivered the

oral

oral law to the elders, and they to the prophets; till it came to Jeremiah, who delivered it to Baruch, and he to Ezra, by whom it was handed down to the men of the great synagogue, the last of whom was Simon the Just; by him it was delivered to Antigonus of Soho, by him to Jose the son of Johanan, by him to Jose the son of Joezer; by him to Nathan the Arbelite and Joshua the son of Perachiah; by them to Shemaiah and Abtalion; by them to Hillel; by him to Simeon his son, who is supposed to have been the same who took Christ in his arms by this Simeon; to Gamaliel his son (at whose feet Paul was brought up;) by him to Simeon his son; by him to Gamaliel his son^a; and by him to Rabbi Judah Hakadosh his son, who wrote it in a book they call Mishnah^b. But all this is mere fiction, spun out of the fertile invention of the Jewish doctors without any foundation either in scripture or in any authentic history^c. But since they now firmly believe it, there is no understanding what their religion at present is without it.

§ 3. After the death of Simeon the Just, there arose a sort of men whom they call Tanaaites or Mishnical doctors, who made it their business to descant upon traditions, so as to make an intolerable heap of them. The Jews call these Tanaaim, the preservers of tradition; and ascribe to them the privilege of speaking to angels, of commanding devils, and restraining forcerers. They give them all sorts of elogies, boldly saying, that R. Eliezer,

^a Liber Cosri, p. 245.—247. Ganz Tsemach David, p. 214. Zacuth in Juchasin, i. e. Liber profapiarum. Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum, p. 2610, 2611. ^b See p. 134. ^c Pridcaux's Connexé, part I. p. 325, 326.

Eliezer, the son of Harsum, had a thousand cities upon land and a thousand ships on sea: They tell that Judah the saint was not so rich as his master of horse. These are shocking hyperboles, that contain a spirit of falsehood, fit to introduce error. Besides, they stick not at gross mistakes in history and chronology in describing their lives, as may be seen in the Jewish Seder Olam; in Abraham Zacuth's Juchasin, who had drawn Jewish genealogies down to the year of our Lord 1500; in Ganz Tsemach David, who hath carried down the history to 1588, and others of their writers. To the Tanaaim other doctors succeeded: For Juda Hakkadosh, or the saint, had no sooner completed his Mishnah, but another rabbin, jealous of his reputation, published before his eyes quite contrary traditions. A collection was made of them under the title of *Extravagants*, and they were inserted with the Mishnah, to compose one and the same body of law. Thus the canon law of the Romish and Jewish church was formed after the same manner; both of them abound with ridiculous, insignificant, contrary decisions, extravagants and traditions.

Though Judah's collection in the Mishnah seemed to be a complete work, yet two considerable faults were observed in it; one, that it was very confused, reporting the opinions of different doctors, without naming them, and without determining which opinion deserved the preference; next, that it was too short, and resolved only a small part of the doubts and questions that began

gan to be debated among the Jews. To remedy these disorders, Jonathan, with the assistance of Rab and Samuel, two disciples of Judah the saint, wrote a commentary upon their master's work, which is called, *The Jerusalem Talmud*, or doctrine; which could not be finished before the reign of Diocletian, who is named in it; consequently it was done about the year of our Lord 300, or the beginning of the fourth century, and was published in one large *folio*, where the *Mishnah* is the text, the *Gemara* is the comment, and both together is what they call the *Talmud*. Still there was a defect found in the Jerusalem Talmud; for it reported the opinions but of a small number of doctors, and besides, was writ in a barbarous language, such as was spoken in Judea, when corrupted by a mixture of strange nations: For this reason the Amoraim or commentators began a new explication of traditions. R. Asa, who kept a school at Sora, near Babylon, undertook the work. After he had taught sixty years, he produced this commentary upon Judah's *Mishnah*. His sons and scholars put the last hand to it; and it is called, the *Gemara* or *Talmud of Babylon*. It was first published about the beginning of the sixth century, in the year of our Lord 505. Since the invention of printing, several editions have been made thereof; the last published at Amsterdam is in twelve *folios*, in the year 1644. It is now the Alcoran of the Jews, into which they have resolved all their faith and religion, though framed almost with the same imposture as that of Mahomet, out of doctrines falsely pretended to be brought from heaven. Here are all questions concerning

concerning their traditions; all their learned men place their studies in this book; and none can be a master in their schools nor in their synagogues without some skill both in the Mishnah and Gemara, that is, in the text and commentaries.

Though the Jews do not pretend that the Talmudists were inspired, yet they prefer the Talmud to the holy scripture; for they compare the scripture to water, and tradition to excellent wine; "The law (say they) is the salt, the Mishnah the pepper, and the Talmud the excellent spices." They maintain, "That he who sins against the law may be forgiven, but he who contradicts the doctors deserves death." But notwithstanding this veneration these modern Jews have for the Talmud, it swarms with ridiculous fables, lies and contradictions; it is a heap of rubbish, dirt and trash. There it is told, "That God, to pass the time before the creation of the universe, when he was alone, busied himself with building divers worlds, which he immediately destroyed, till by different essays he had learned to make one so perfect as ours." They relate a trick which a rabbin put upon God and the devil: For "he intreated the devil to carry him to the gate of Heaven, that having seen the happiness of the saints, he might die with more tranquillity. The devil granted the Rabbin's request; who seeing the gate of Heaven open, threw himself headlong in, swearing that he would never come out again: So that God, who would not suffer him to be guilty of perjury, was obliged to leave him there; and

^u Tractat. Sopherim, cap. 15.

and the devil being tricked, sneaked away in great confusion." Adam here is not only made an Hermaphrodite, but it is maintained, "That having tried to satisfy his passion with all the animals of the earth, he found none but Eve would content him." There are sensible contradictions found in it; and the Jews, instead of being at pains to remove them, introduce a voice from Heaven, crying out that both the one and the other, tho' directly opposite, proceed from Heaven. Their method of treatment appointed for the Christians is barbarous and cruel: For they think it lawful to rob them of their goods, considering them as brute beasts; to push them down a precipice when they are seen upon the brink; and make some terrible imprecations against them every morning. Though the hatred and desire of revenge the Jewish masters are blinded with, had dictated such lessons, yet it is strange they should have inserted in a summary of religion such laws and precepts as are not only opposite to charity, but even to wisdom, sense and good manners. These who desire to see treatises concerning the Talmud, may consult the authors named at the foot of the page*. Though there be so many fable and idle trash in it, yet Dr. Lightfoot and other great men skilled in oriental learning, have digged out of it and other Jewish authors many things that may tend to explain several passages

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* Galantini de arcana Catholice veritatis, lib. 1 p. 20,—38. Sextus Senensis in Bibliotheca, lib. 2. Leusden Philologus Hebræo mixtus, p. m. 114,—110. Pfeifferi Theologia Judaica & Mahomedica. Abendana of the Jewish policy, p. 154,—171. Pauli Riccii farrago ex Talmude. Surinhusius's translation of the Talmud. Lightfooti Vestibulum & Index Talmudis Hierosolymitani, inter opera posthuma, p. m. 30,—62.

in the holy scriptures: And it is but an idle fancy to think that these books, of which there are so many editions and copies, can be entirely burnt or destroyed; nor perhaps it is profitable to attempt to do so.

§ 5. The Talmud was received with general applause, if we believe the Jews; but there started up a new order of doctors who shocked its authority by their doubts. They were called Saburians or opiniators, and were looked upon by the Jews as so many sceptics, because they disputed without determining, finding only probability on all sides. R. Josi was a principal man among these doubters. He appeared about the 476th year of the Christian Era, and taught thirty-eight years. He had some successors who became heads of the academies of Sora and Pundebita: But these being shut up by the king of Persia's order, this sort of doubting doctors was extinct seventy-four years after their establishment.

The doubters were succeeded by other masters, called Gaons, sublime, or excellents; which titles were not acquired by them till they had given some illustrious proofs of their merit. The chief of them were heads of the academies, and others were dispersed among the scattered Jews in the provinces. They were consulted upon any considerable question that arose, and their decisions were looked on as oracles. Chanan Mezikka was head and first of those Excellents. He re-established the academy of Pundebita, that had been shut up for fifty years, but appeared again with some lustre

lustre at the beginning of the sixth century. In the list of these Excellents is numbered one Jehuda, surnamed *Full of Light*, because he was blind. He taught with great reputation in the year 763, and the nation is indebted to him for certain lessons in great request. Sherira, one of the Excellents, appeared likewise with great lustre at the end of the tenth century * 2. He resigned his employment to confer it on his son Haai, who was the last of the Gaons, and was esteemed the most excellent of these Excellents. He taught till the time of his death, which happened in the year 1037; and with him ended the order of these Excellent doctors. The academies at Babylon being ruined about this time, the Jews who remained conveyed themselves into Spain and France, where they made new settlements, and their doctors flourished under the title of Rabbins. But I now proceed to

§ 6. The Masoreths who were Grammarians, and principally addicted themselves to the reviving of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. They numbered the very letters, to prevent any future alterations. It has been questioned, whether they carried their diligence so far. Father-Simon, a French critic, well acquainted in this matter, affirms * that he had seen a manuscript, wherein he found the following part of the Massorah: Genesis was reckoned to contain 12 great sections, 43 Sedarim or orders, 1534 verses, 20,713 words, 78,100 letters. They made also a collection of all the different readings that were known to them,

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which

* A. D. 997. * Halacoth Pessucoth, Lectiones decisæ. * Histoire critique du vieux Testament, p. m. 156. cap. 26.

which was commonly put at the end of their copies of the Bible, and afterwards was substitute in the margin, and at the bottom of the page, for the readers convenience; and what could not come in there, was cast in at the end of the book. Thus it was printed by Bomberg in his great Venetian Bible, by the assistance of Jacob ben Cajim, a Jew of Tunis, who had been forced to leave his native country. Buxtorf revised what they had done, in the large Bible he caused to be printed at Basil^b.

It is a question of greater importance, if the Masoreths at Tiberias added the vowel-points to the sacred Hebrew text of the Old Testament? These points were maintained to be of an elder date by all the world, till Elias Levita, a German Jew, at the beginning of the reformation from popery, in the sixteenth century, ascribed the invention of them to the Masoreths. Buxtorf the father refuted his arguments in his *Tiberias*. Lewis Capell, professor of divinity at Saumur, a French protestant, in a very elaborate discourse made an answer^c. Buxtorf the son, vindicated his father's opinion^d, but not so as to hinder so many learned men from going into the other side of the question. The state whereof is this, Whether the vowel-points were affixed by Ezra, or some other inspired person, and so of the same divine authority with the rest of the sacred text? Or if the said points have been invented by the Masoreths, five hundred years after Christ; and therefore being only

^b De Masora vide Buxtorfium in *Tiberiade*, Waltoni Prolegom. 8. p. 288 & seq. ^c Entitled, *Arcanum Punctuationis revelatum*, 1624. ^d De genuina punctorum antiquitate, 1648.

of human authority, may be altered or changed when the analogy of grammar, the nature of the context, or the stile of language, or any thing else shall give reason for a better reading? I have already discovered that I incline * to the first, namely, That Ezra, or some other divinely inspired person, or the penmen themselves, affixed the vowels to the sacred text, and consequently that they are of divine authority. I shall now offer reasons to confirm this assertion; first, That this is the common opinion of all the Jewish writers, whether Talmudists, Cabbalists, Philosophers, Grammarians, Critics, or Historians, all in one voice, (excepting only Elias Levita) declaring that the points were in the sacred text in the time of Ezra: And this argument is of more force, when we consider, *that to them were committed the oracles of God*, Rom. iii. 2. If the points had been but a modern invention of men, liable to error, some of the Jews would have been ready to blame the authors for mispointing some texts, which they never do, being convinced that the warrant for the present reading is divine. Secondly, It is no ways probable that the Masorites of Tiberias invented the vowel-points five hundred years after Christ; for the schools which the Jews had in Judea were before that time dissipated and dispersed, and no learned men left in that country of sufficient abilities for such a performance, they being then removed to the province of Babylon, where they had their academies at Sora, Nahacra, and Pundebita, nothing of learning being left

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* See Vol. III. page 21.

in Judea for such a work in these times. Nor do I see any more reason for Mr. Basnage's assertion^c, that Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali are the true inventors of the Massorah, and the points: Besides, how can the Masoreths, whose work is printed with the great Bibles in Venice and Basil, be the inventors of these points, when a great part of their criticisms is upon the vowel-points, which must prove them to have been a long time before fixed, since none use to criticise upon their own works. Thirdly, our Lord seems to acknowledge the points in his time, while he says, Matth. v. 18. *One title of the law מלתא אחת, one open or point, shall not pass away till all be fulfilled*, and to engage his providential care for the preservation of them; which hath indeed been verified in all ages, so as these fountains of divine revelation have been to this very day transmitted pure and entire to us. Fourthly, When the Hebrew language ceased to be the mother-tongue of the Jews (as it did after the Babylonish captivity) it was scarce possible to teach that language to young and old, to children of six or seven years of age, as the Jews usually do, as hath been before observed^d, without the vowel-points. Fifthly, The ancient Bible of Hillel, of which the Jews make mention in their Talmud, was exactly furnished with the Hebrew points^e. Buxtorf the son makes mention of many other ancient copies of the Hebrew Bible with the points; and this may be a sufficient answer to those who insist so much upon several of

^c Hist. of the Jews, book 3. cap. 9. p. 182.

^d See Vol III. p. 21.

^e Leusdeni Philolog. Hebræus p. m. 123. 1 De Punctorum antiquitate, parte 2. cap. 7.

the sacred books in the Jewish synagogues being without them. Sixthly, How uncertain would the meaning of many Hebrew words be without the vowels. It is easy to observe, that in any language of two or three consonants, any body may make differing words of several differing significations, if he be at liberty to supply what vowels he pleaseth; and the same is observed in the Hebrew tongue by Buxtorf^k, Hottinger^l, Leusden^m and other learned men. Besides, if fallible men be inventors of the Hebrew vowels, the sense would still be fallible, and other men, by giving different points or vowels, might give a different meaning of the text. How uncertain and precarious should thus the infallible standard of truth be? I am afraid to think of it. I know that they who are on the other side of the question tell us, That the punctuation was not made by the sense of the rabbins, but according to the analogy of the text, the genius of the Hebrew tongue, and the sense that hath been for many ages received among the Jews, who have almost all their books except, the sacred, without points. But even this does not remove the difficulty, nor gives any sufficient ground to move us to embrace such an upstart opinion, that leans upon no solid foundation, and is attended with so many dangerous consequences.

§ 7. I reserved to this place to speak of the Jewish Targumsⁿ; and therefore shall now observe, that Hillel, who flourished in the reign of Herod the Great, is said by the Jewish writers to have

^k Buxtorf ubi supra. ^l Hottingeri Exercit. antimotiolanz. ^m Leusden Philolog. p. 130. & seq. ⁿ See Vol. IV. p. 301.

have bred up above a thousand scholars^o in the knowledge of the law, of which eighty were reckoned to be of greater eminency above the rest; for of them they say that thirty were worthy, on whom the divine glory should rest as it did upon Moses, and thirty for whom the sun should stand still as it did for Joshua, and the twenty others were of a middling size. The most eminent of them was Jonathan ben Uzziel, the author of the Chaldee paraphrase on the prophets, with whom was contemporary Onkelos, author of the Chaldee paraphrase on the law: But whether he was a scholar of Hillel's, is not said. The Chaldee paraphrases are translations of the scriptures of the Old Testament, made directly out of the Hebrew text into the language of the Chaldeans, which was anciently used through all Assyria, Babylonia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine, and is still the language of the churches of the Nestorian and Maronite Christians in the east, in their sacred offices, as the Latin is of the Popish churches here in the west; and therefore these paraphrases were called Targums, because they were versions or translations of the Hebrew text into that language; for the word Targum signifieth, in Chaldee, an interpretation of one language into another. They were made for the instruction of the vulgar Jews after their return from the Babylonish captivity. For though many retained the knowledge of the Hebrew in which the holy scriptures were wrote, except a few passages in Chaldee^p, yet the common people having so long conversed with the Babylonians,

^o Zacutus in Juchasin. Gedelliah in Schialfha. Let. Hakkabala. Ganz. Tsemach David. ^p Dan. ii. 4. to chap. vii. v. last. Ezra iv. 8. to chap. vii. v. 27. Jer. xl. 10.

Babylonians, learned their tongue, and forgot their own. This made these versions more necessary, for to lock up from the people in an unknown language the word of God given to lead them to everlasting life, was a thing thought then neither agreeable to reason nor religion. Hence it came to pass, that there were anciently many of these Targums, and of different sorts.

The Targums that now remain were composed by different persons: The first of them is that of Onkelos on the five books of Moses. The Jews say, That this author survived Gamaliel the elder, Paul's master, who was grandson of Hillel, and that he died only eighteen years before the destruction of Jerusalem: Though Dr. Prideaux is of opinion^a that Onkelos was rather before Jonathan ben Uzziel, being writ in better Chaldee, and that Uzziel passed by the law, because Onkelos had done it before him. This Targum on the law is rather a version than a paraphrase; for it renders the Hebrew word for word, and is in good esteem. The next is that of Jonathan ben Uzziel on the prophets. He takes the liberty as a paraphrast to make enlargements and glosses of his own upon the text. The books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, are with him called the former prophets; Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets are the latter. The Jews highly esteem him, and tell, that if any bird happened to light on his paper while he was writing, the bird was burnt with fire from heaven, without doing any hurt to the author's person or paper.

paper. The third Targum is that on the law ascribed to Jonathan ben Uzziel; but that it is none of his, appears from the stile, wholly different from that of the Targum on the prophets, which all own to be his: Besides, the enlargements, glosses, fables, prolix interpretations, and other additions, do no way resemble this author. But that which thoroughly cuts the throat of this pretence is, That there are several things mentioned in this Targum, which had no being, nor no name till after Jonathan's time, as the six orders of the books of Mishnah, Targum on Exod. xxvi. 9 which could have no being till Rabbi Jehuda wrote the Mishnah, two hundred years after Jonathan's time. There also we find mention of Constantinople on Numb. xxiv. 19. and of Lombardy on Numb. xxiv. 24. Whereas these cities and countries were not called by such names, till several hundred years after ben Uzziel flourished. Who was the true author is not known; It seems to have lien long in obscurity among the Jews themselves. Elias Levita knew nothing of it, neither was it taken notice of, till published at Venice, about a hundred and fifty years ago, and the name of Jonathan put to it to gain it more credit.

A fourth Targum is on the law, written also by an unknown hand, for no body pretends to tell us who is the author, or when composed. 'Tis called the Jerusalem Targum, because written in that dialect. It is not a continued paraphrase, as all the rest are, but upon some parts here and there; yea, sometimes it skips over whole chapters,

† Vide Waltoni apparat. Biblicum, p. m. 383, — 388. † Lessleri Philologus Hebræo-mixtus, p. m. 42.

ters, and seems by its dialect to have been composed above three hundred years after Christ. The fifth Targum is that on the Megilloth, that is, on the five lesser books, Ruth, Esther, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah. The sixth Targum is the second on Esther. The seventh is that on Job, the Psalms and the Proverbs, all writ in the most corrupt Chaldee of the Jerusalem dialect. Of the fifth and sixth, no author is named; but the author of the seventh is said to have been Joseph the one Eyed: But who this Joseph was, or when he lived, is not named. And some of the Jews^c tell us, That the author of this Targum is as the other two. That on the Megilloth, or Cant. i. 2. makes mention of the Mishna and Talmud, with the explication, whereby is meant the Babylonish Talmud; consequently this Targum must have been written after the year of Christ 500; which is the earliest time assigned for the Babylonish Talmud. The eight and last of these Targums is that on the two books of the Chronicles, not known till the same was published by Beckius; that on the first book at Ausburg in Germany An. Dom. 1680, and that on the second book three years afterwards.

Of all these Targums that of Onkelos on the law, and Jonathan on the prophets, are the most valuable, being as ancient as our Saviour's time, if not before it, and are the most ancient of any books the Jews have next to the holy scriptures. Nor can it be concluded, that because neither Jerom,

^c R. Azarias in Meor Enaim, Elias Levita alique.

rom, Origen nor Epiphanius, nor any of the ancient fathers make mention of them, therefore they are not of so valuable antiquity. This being only a negative argument proves nothing. Origen and Epiphanius understood not the Chaldee. As to Jerom, though he got the help of some Rabbies, to assist him in his study of the Hebrew scriptures^u, by hiring them with great sums, yet all that these Rabbies did was only very privately. They communicated no more to him than was necessary to earn his money; and he never attained to any considerable knowledge in the Chaldee, and that only when he was very old^v. Besides, the Jews finding many prophecies in the Old Testament explained in the Targums, and applied to the Messiah, they thought fit, as far as they could, to conceal them from the Christians, to prevent their cause from being ruined by their own weapons. Hence it came to pass, that it is not above a thousand years since Christians knew any thing of these Targums, and scarce three centuries have run since they became any way common among us. Now any learned man may have access to them in the Polyglot Bibles.

These Targums, especially that of Onkelos on the law, and Jonathan on the prophets, are of use to vindicate the Hebrew text, to prove it to be the same that was in use when the Targums were made, contrary to the opinion of those who think the Jews corrupted it in our Saviour's time; they help to explain many words and phrases in the Hebrew

^u Hieronymus in Epistolis ad Pammachium in Præfatione in librum Paralipomenon, & in præfatione ad librum Job. ^v Idem in præfatione ad Danielem.

Hebrew original, for the meaning whereof we should otherwise have been at a loss; and they hand down to us many of the ancient customs and usages of the Jews, which help to illustrate the holy scriptures. They also help very much the cause of the Christians against the Jews, by interpreting many of the prophecies concerning the Messiah promised in the Old Testament in the same manner as we do; as particularly Gen. iii. 15. and xlix. 10. Num. xxiv. 17. Isa. ix. 6, 7, and xi. lii. liii. Mic. v. 2. Psal. ii. xlv. and lxxii. as the learned Dr. Prideaux⁷ hath illustrated. The Targums are published to good advantage in the second edition of the great Hebrew Bible set forth at Basil by Buxtorf the father, in the year 1620; for that learned man hath taken great pains not only of the Chaldee text, but also to reform the vowel-pointings in it. At first the Targums were written, as most of the Oriental books, without vowels; but at length some Jews attempted to add them. This being done erroneously, Buxtorf undertook to mend it according to such rules as he had formed from the punctuation of those parts of the books of Daniel and Ezra, which are written in the Chaldee. Father Simeon⁸, a French critic, thought the Chaldee in those two books too little from thence to frame rules for the whole language; and that therefore Buxtorf had done better to have let this matter alone, and to have left such as read those books entirely to be directed by the four letters Aleph, He, Vau, Jod, called *Matres lectionis*. But the great Buxtorf knew what

⁷ Connection, part 2. p. 548.—554.
chap. 18.

⁸ Critical History, Book 1.

what was fit to be done in that affair better than any who hath taken upon him to censure his performance, and the learned world is much obliged to him for his judicious and accurate works. Leaving the Targums, I proceed to give some account of the Jewish Cabbala.

§ 8. The Jews call the Cabbala the soul of the law. They regard it as a most noble science, more precious than gold^a, conducting men in an easy method to the most profound truths; and say it is so necessary, that without it the holy scriptures cannot be distinguished from profane books, if we do not penetrate into truths locked up under the external shell of the literal sense. For my part, I count it unintelligible trash, and a great instance of the degeneracy of this blinded nation; but since I am now upon their history, I am obliged to give some account of their Cabbalistic dreams. They tell us that God was the first teacher of this science in paradise, and the angels learned it of him immediately after the fall of the first man. When God created the world, he left a hole in the north side thereof. The angels thinking this an imperfection, he told them it could never be filled up till a being like himself appeared; meaning thereby to signify the lapse of angels, who made a breach in Heaven, which could never be filled up^b but by the manifestation of the Messiah. It being a matter of importance to reveal all these mysteries to man, God sent the angel Raziel to teach these truths by means of the Cabbala.

^a Reuchlin de Cabbala, lib. 1. p. 750. ^b Abrahami Patriarchæ liber Jezirah, cum notis Rittangelii. Cabbala denudata. Apparatus in librum Zohar. Reuchlin de Cabbala, lib. 1. p. 745.

Cabbala. He assigned angels to instruct the succeeding patriarchs, Jophiel to Sem, Raphael to Isaac, Metaron to Moses, and Michael to king David. Thus the Cabbala is as ancient as the world, and descends originally from Heaven. The Jews had leisure to study it in the desert. Moses was initiated in the mysteries thereof, since he had received lessons from an angel, and penetrated into the forty-ninth gate of Prudence, he helped to resolve the difficulties that arose, in spite of the pilgrimages, wars and frequent miseries of the nation. He laid down in his first four books the principles of this sublime science, and of its most exalted part, which insists upon the perfections and essence of God; and therefore the Cabbalists find these four books more masculine and strong than Deuteronomy, which they call the woman. They value it less than the rest, because the Cabbala is there wanting. After Moses there were several masters, who transmitted it from hand to hand^c. David and Solomon were profoundly versed in it, but no body ventured to write it.

Simeon Jochalides was the first who committed any thing of it to paper, composing the famous book of Zohar, to which a great many additions have been since made. It is believed that this Simeon lived some years after the destruction of Jerusalem. Titus condemned him to death; but he and his son escaped the persecution, by hiding themselves in a cave^d, where they had leisure to compose the book we speak of. However, he was still ignorant of many things. The prophet Elias
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^c Vide de Cabbala librum Cosiri, part 4. per totum. ^d Vide Rittangelii notas in librum Jezirah, p. 40. 124.

now and then descended from Heaven into the cave to instruct him, and God miraculously assisted him, by commanding the words to posit themselves one by another in the order that was necessary to the forming of these mysteries. The first part of this work is intituled *Zeninutha*, or *Mystery*, because indeed abundance of hidden things are discovered in it, pretended to be taken from the holy scriptures, which the Cabbalists explain after their own way. Here they discover the *Microprosopon*, that is, the little face; the *Macroprosopon*, that is, the long face; his wife, the nine, and thirteen dispositions of his beard. The following book, which is called *The great Synod*, enters into a greater train of particulars. *Siméon* had a great reluctance to explain them to his disciples: No wonder! However, at length he was prevailed on, and on he goes to explain the dew of the brain of the old man*. He examined afterwards his scull, his hairs; for he wears upon his head a thousand millions of thousands and seven thousand five hundred curls of hair, as white as wool. To each curl there goes four hundred and ten hairs, according to the number and value of letters in the word *Kadosh*. From the hair he passes to the forehead, eyes, nose, and all these parts of the great face, but especially his beard, which deserves infinite praises. It is precious in all its parts; the beard transcends all encomiums; never prophet nor saint came near it: It is white as snow; it reaches even to the navel; it is the ornament of ornaments, the truth of

* Zohar, § 4, — II. p. 393, — 412.

of truths; wo unto him that touches it. There are thirteen parts in this beard, each of them including great mysteries; but none save the initiated, comprehend them, and understand this obscure language. The little Synod is the last farewell that Simeon Jochaides took of his disciples, and contains much the same unintelligible stuff as before expressed. I wonder how M. Postel, or any other Christian, can see valuable things in such a book.

As to the true history of the Cabbala, I own it is difficult to comprehend it, but so far as I conceive we may take it thus. There is no foundation for such Cabbalistic dreams in the holy scriptures. We willingly own that the sacred writers have frequently employed metaphors and allegories, because this being the common stile of the Jews and other eastern people, the same was easily understood. The visions of Ezekiel and Daniel soar higher than those of the other prophets, because these men lived in Chaldea, where that dialect was familiar, and speak of sublime truths, and of things which were to be accomplished many ages after they were gone. These types then are not to be taken literally, but must be applied to the Messiah and the days of the gospel, for which they were designed. But the Cabbalists mistake their meaning, yea, find mysteries in the most plain historical narrations, departing from the obvious literal sense to seek for one that is unintelligible. We find no footsteps of the Cabbala in the Jewish writers before our Saviour's time; but after they had crucified the Lord of glory, they began to fall into these delusion. Phi-

to the Jew, educated in Egypt, who lived in the time of our Saviour, but survived him several years, for he was sent by the Egyptian Jews in an embassy to the emperor Caligula; he run headlong into allegories and mystical interpretations, finding whatever he pleased in the scriptures. If God speaks, and calls unto Adam, Where art thou? He observes, "That Eve is confounded with her husband, because all the faculties of the soul must be awakened and alarmed when the same is to be reclaimed to its duty." The Essenes appeared with considerable lustre in Egypt in the first age of the Christian church. Where they taught, "That words were so many images of concealed things, and turned the sacred volume into allegories." 'Tis probable that the symbolical theology of the Egyptians, and the mysterious doctrines of Pythagoras, and the fabulous stories of the heathen Greeks, gave some occasion to the Jews to find out equally hidden mysteries in their religion. But I do not think it necessary to mix in any discourse upon these fooleries of the heathen, when we are upon the Jewish Cabbala. The curious may find a kind of treatise upon these subjects in M. Bafnage's^{*} history of the Jews. Origen, Gregory Nyssen, and many of the ancient fathers of the Christian church gave also too great countenance to an allegorical way of expounding the holy scriptures. The wild notions of the Valentinian heretics, with their thirty Æons male and female, related by Irenæus[†], Tertulli-

^{*} Philo, de legis allegoria, lib. 4.

[†] Adversus hæreses, lib. 1. cap. 23.

[‡] Book 3. chap. 17, — 37, 23.

have been sooner known, and often cited; and we have reason to believe that it was not composed till the twelfth century, in which it first appeared. But though it had been more ancient, there are such a multitude of additions to this work, as the part of the first author cannot be distinguished from the rest, which considerably depreciates its authority. Besides, there is such a mysterious darkness in every thing there said, that it is impossible to find out the meaning; nor does he nor any other Cabbalist, as Reuchlin long ago observed^a, give any other reason for what they advanced, but their *ipse dixit*, their bare word. However, since that book appeared, the Jews have more valued themselves on their Cabbalistic learning than ever they did before. If we descend further into the consideration of the Cabbala, we may observe that it is commonly divided into two parts; the one whereof opens up the divine perfections and celestial intelligences, and is called the chariot, or Mercava, from Ezekiel's chariot: The other is called Bereschith, or the beginning, from the first word of the Hebrew Bible. The Cabbalistic divines find Mysteries in every thing. It is with them an error to imagine that the Hebrew letters have no other use than to make up words by their various combinations; For, according to their opinion, the world was formed in an analogy to the alphabet, and the harmony of creatures resembles that of letters, which God made use of to compose the book of life. How many strange things do they tell of the ten

^a Reuchlin de Cabbala, lib. 2. p. m. 766, in edit. Basila 1559 cum Galatino.

ten numerations, and of their subordinate divisions? How many mysteries are contained in the letter Beth? One maintains that this letter is a woman, that the two lines stretched out β are two arms, between which she receives and embraces her husband Pipheret. This is signified by Solomon, when he makes the spouse say, "let me as a seal upon thine heart." This letter is open to receive the holy spirit, which flows from the parts of Aleph, she being like a disciple receiving lessons from her master's mouth; she is also like a house and the foundation of unity. I shall not insist on each letter. They tell us, that the use of the twelve single letters is to represent the twelve signs of the Zodiac, the twelve months, the twelve cardinal winds, the twelve tribes of Israel. The letter He, its number is five, its signification light, its angel Melchidale; Van, its number six, signification hearing, its angel Atmodel; Zain, its number seven, signification smelling, and its angel Ambriel, and so of the rest. If the letters be of so great use, no wonder that the words composed of them be of great importance in religion: Nay, they have influences, virtues and significations not known to all the world. God has concealed his essence and perfections under the disguise of words. They find wonderful mysteries in the name of God, particularly in his name Jehovah; it is a bond of union to all the Sephiroths; there is a secret in every letter, it is not lawful so much as to meditate upon it. But the great secret of the Cabbala is the ten Sephiroths,

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roths,

* Liber Jezirath, p. m. 185.—208.
Book 3. p. 190.

P Bagnac's History of the Jews,

roths, which they range in ten different circles^a, as being contained one within another by their names, Crown, Wisdom, Understanding, Strength or Severity, Mercy or Magnificence, Beauty, Victory or Eternity, Glory, the Foundation of the Kingdom. By these splendors they represent the subordination of one thing to another throughout the universe, and some things that have influences upon others: For the splendors have influence upon the angels, the angels upon the planets, the planets on man: They imagine canals and conduits through which the influence of each perfection is communicated to another, and thirty-two ways, with fifty gates which lead men to the knowledge of all that's most secret. These roads are described in a book falsely said to be writ by the patriarch Abraham^b, on which a celebrated rabbin, Rittangelius, a converted Jew of Bamberg in Germany in the seventeenth century (who being there plundered of his books and goods, came and resided in Holland, where he printed his book, the copy whereof before me is at Amsterdam 1642,) hath made a commentary. They distinguish these fifty gates into five chief ones, each whereof comprehends ten. The first gate includes the knowledge of the first matter, and the chaos of the void, the elements and the water that cover the earth, the air that proceeded from the abyfs, the waters, &c. The second great gate contains the knowledge of minerals, flowers, the juice that produces metals, the sea, lakes, rivers, plants,

^a Liber Jezirah cum notis Rittangelii, p. 10.—19. & p. 53 & 57.

^b Liber Jezira qui Abrahamo Patriarchæ inscribitur super 32 semitis sapientia.

plants, seeds, insects, reptiles, fishes, birds, and four-footed beasts. The third gate proceeds to the creation of man, to the clay he was formed of, to the soul he received, to the mystery of Adam and Eve, to man who is the little world, the five senses, the five inward faculties, to the celestial man, the angelic man, the man that is the resemblance of God. The fourth gate discovers the planets, the firmament, the *Primum mobile*, and the *Cælum Empyræum*. Knocking at the fifth gate, there may be seen the nine orders of angels. No body ever arrived at the last: Moses passed through the forty-ninth gate, but he could go no further; for God said thou shalt see my face. Joshua, Moses's successor, proceeded but to the forty-eight gate. Solomon made a great progress, for his wisdom was as the sand of the sea, he could never open the fiftieth gate, nor arrive at the degree of perfection.

There are also Astrological Cabbalists, who conjecture from the virtues of the planets, and there is another sort of Cabbala much abhorred by honest men, because there is magic in it: However, the Jews frequently practise it, by certain words ranked in a certain order, by which they pretend to expel devils, cure diseases^c, and to remove other evils.

I shall only further observe concerning this subject, that Manasseh Ben Israel, a learned Jew in the seventeenth century, hath given us thirteen Cabbalistic rules^d. Other Jews who write on the Cabbala

^c Vide Leusdeni Philologum Hebræum, p. m. 282. Basnage's History of the Jews, book 3. chap. 15. ^d Manasseh ben Israel conciliator in Exodum, quest. 56 & ult. p. m. 170.—178.

Cabbala give much the same^a. The rules are, First, Notaricon, by which they form as many words as there are letters or consonants in the Hebrew word under consideration. Thus, from the word Bereschith, Gen. i. 1. they form six words, signifying, in the beginning God did see that the Israelites would receive the law. The second rule is named Ziruf, whereby the letters of the same word being transposed, form new and different words. The third rule is Gimatria, founded on the numbers which the letters of the Hebrew in the text they notice, doth lead them to: Thus, Berit the covenant, the letters thereof have the value of 612, and by adding Colel of 613; this then is the same with Thora the law, and signifies the 613 precepts of which the law consists. The fourth rule is named Zura, founded on the form and figure of the words: Why they have such a figure, and not another; from which they infer great mysteries. As for example, if it be asked why does the Old Testament begin with a Beth? It is answered, because the point of that letter looketh upwards, signifying God dwelling in the Heavens. The fifth rule is Rase Tebot, taken from the beginning and ending of words, by which they compound new words, and draw a new sense out of them. The sixth rule is Temura, permutation, whereby they place a Thau for an Aleph, the last letter for the first, and so of the rest. The seventh rule is founded on defective and full letters, for which they give mysterious reasons. The eighth rule is called Setumot, shut and

^a Rittangelil notæ in librum Jezirah, p. m. 27.—25. Benichia de Cabbala, lib. 3. p. 829 & seq. Vide Leusdeni Philologum Hebræum Dissert. 26.

and open letters, as *Pe* open, *Samech* shut. The ninth rule is *Kari ve la Ketib*, by which they learn that some words are otherwise to be read than they are written. The tenth rule is *Ketivot & Gedalot*, taken from the small and great letters in each word. The eleventh rule is *Hilul*, variation, as *Vau* for *Heth*. The twelfth rule is *Necudot*, whereby they observe many mysteries in the points or vowels. The last rule is *Tamajum*, whereby they find the same strange things from the accents. The whole of this Cabbala the modern Jews assert to be a part of the oral law, which God gave to Moses on mount Sinai. But it is very obvious and plain, that this Cabbalistic science did never proceed from God, but is vain, dark and unprofitable, it may be improved as well to refute the Jews as to confirm their doctrine; the sacred scriptures are thereby turned into any shape men please: For though the rabbins dare not alter the text, yet they may, by the rules above mentioned, wire-draw any sense out of it they please. It is not possible that thinking rational men should be abandoned to such mysterious nonsense, unless God in his just judgment, as foretold in his word, *Isaiah vi. 9. 10. had shut their eyes lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert and be healed.* But these judgments shall be removed, when in the last days they shall seek the Lord to be their God, and our blessed Redeemer the Lord Jesus to be their King, and fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days. So far concerning the Cabbala.

§ 9. Having in the title of this chapter promised to give some account of the principal orders of the Jewish doctors, I find this almost done already, if once I had taken some notice of their Rabbins, who seem to have had their rise among the Pharisees and Sadducees about the time of our Saviour; for our Lord reproves them, Matth. xxiii. 6, 7. *Because they loved the uppermost rooms in feasts, the chief seats in the synagogues, and greetings in the markets, and to be called of men, Rabbi, Rabbi.* When knowledge and virtue sunk in this nation, then their teachers carried their vanity further than their neighbours; they would be called Rabbi, and Rabboni; which last title distinguished them from the ignorant vulgar, importing a master invested with absolute authority; and there is something in it that expresseth the power of God. Hence Mary Magdalen, when our Lord had given such an illustrious proof of his divinity, by his resurrection from the dead, calls him Rabboni, John xx. 16. The Jews have since turned the title of Rabbin, and traversed it every way, and at last have given it up to the learned in general, to take this or the like title, suitable to the taste and genius of the nation wherein they lived. The eastern captives at Babylon assumed the title of Rabba, Raf, or Rau; which seems peculiar to the Babylonian doctors, while these at Jerusalem were called Ribbi. But the orientals changed afterwards, usurping the title of Mar or Mor, signifying Lord. This they did, because the Chaldeans and Syrians used this name to princes, and they had the same custom at Alexandria in Egypt. Hence we understand the word of the apostle, 1 Cor.

xvi. 22. *Maranatha, the coming of the Lord.* The doctors of Judea were commonly called Rabbi, or Ribbi. Hillel, who flourished there with great reputation, received the title of Rabban. They who boasted of their descent from the house of David, distinguished themselves by the name of Rabana, which is needful to be known by such as study these authors. The Spanish doctors assumed the title of *Wise*; yea, some of them who would imitate the pride of their country, took the title of *Dom*. The office of the Rabbin consists in preaching in the synagogues, explaining the law, resolving all cases of conscience about which they were consulted, saying prayers and instructing youth. They had the power of binding and loosing*, that is, of declaring what is allowed or forbidden. When the synagogue is poor and small, it hath but one Rabbin, who discharges at once the functions of judge and doctor, hath the care of the poor belonging to that synagogue, and of deciding differences. But where the Jews are numerous and rich in one place, there they appoint three pastors, and a house of judgment, where all decisions are made, and the instruction is only reserved for the Rabbin; but if it be thought fit to bring him into the council, then he takes the chiefest place. They have also a power to create new doctors, which was formerly done by the princes of the captivity in the east: But now the Rabbins lay their hands upon their disciples. They are often despised by the people; but they take all care to set off their own authority, asserting,

that

* Talmud in Pasachim, Fol. 87.

that a man cannot break their law without incurring death; and that no Rabbini shall be damned like the rest of the world. Their writings are in high esteem, especially if they be ancient; for with them time is more venerable than merit, in which they are not singular. In their synagogues they have some commentaries called *Midrashim*, which are not so ancient as they pretend; for the *Gemara* is there cited, consequently the same cannot be before the sixth century of the Christian *Zera*. The like may be said of other of their authors.

Though the modern Jews have neither temples, altars, nor sacrifices, yet they have sacrificers and priests: But the principal function of their office having ceased for a great many ages, it is easy to conceive they are much degenerated, now when they have no sacrifices. However, the first born are ransomed; but the Jews being seldom possessors of lands and flocks, they very seldom pay the priests any tithes. Only they have the precedency in reading the law in the synagogues; for the priest always reads first, the Levite next; and upon their failure the Israelites, if the priest do not happen to be so ignorant as he cannot read: But when he can, the wisest and most learned of the Israelites is obliged to yield him that honour. He also gives the blessing to the people at the end of the service; which shews that they still retain some respect to the office, whose succession is so uncertain. It is probable that they are sometimes chosen to be doctors, and may pretend to any office in the synagogue, when they are capable of discharging it. Each synagogue has three *Parnassim*, who

who are deacons, whose province is to collect the alms, and distribute them to the people ; and they have also an interpreter ; which office became necessary at the return from the captivity, because the people having lost the use of the Hebrew tongue, Ezra was obliged to interpret line by line all that was read in public. So far concerning the Jewish doctors, and heads of the captivity.

Of the Kingdom, Priest, and Government of the Jews.

And of the manner of their worship, and of the manner of their government.

I SHALL now go upon the several opinions which the modern Jews maintain concerning the important articles of religion ; some of these may be afterwards considered when we come to discourse of promoting their conversion to Christianity ; but in the mean time shall give the confession of their faith, and proceed to their rites and ceremonies.

1. The modern Jews commonly rest on thirteen articles of their faith. **CHAP.** *And Rabbins, that is to say, Rabbi Moses ben Maimon, or Rabbi Moses the Egyptian, the most learned and least superstitious of all the Jews, about the end of the eleventh century of the Christian Era, when he drew their confessions, reduced the articles thereof to that number, inserting therein his exposition of the Mishnah, chapter Hilech of the tract Shabbatin ; and the same is received by all this nation without contradiction. We shall here insert the confessions, and additions of the explanations.*

who are deacons, whose province is to collect the alms, and distribute them to the people; and they have also an interpreter; which office became necessary at the return from the captivity, because the people being led by the Hebrew tongue, were obliged to interpret line by line all that was read in public. So the interpreting the Jewish doctors, and heads of the captivity.

Of the Religion, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Jews.

I SHALL now go upon the several opinions which the modern Jews maintain concerning the important articles of religion; some of these may be afterwards considered when we come to discourse of promoting their conversion to Christianity; but in the mean time shall give the confession of their faith, and proceed to their rites and ceremonies.

§ 1. The modern Jews commonly reckon thirteen articles of their faith. Maimonides, called also Rambam, that is to say, Rabbi Moses ben Maimon, or Rabbi Moses the Egyptian, the most learned and least superstitious of all the Jews, about the end of the eleventh century of the Christian *Æra*, when he drew their confession, reduced the articles thereof to that number, inserting them in his exposition of the *Mishnah*, chapter *Helech* of the tract *Sanhedrim*; and the same is received by all this nation without contradiction^a. A commentary hath been added to them. We shall here insert the confession, and add some of the explanations

^a Leo de Modena, of the present Jews, part 5. cap. 13. p. m. 236,—240.

tions that are tacked to it in the Bomberg Bible, that we may have a general notion of the Jewish religion. Article I. "I believe that there is one God, creator of all things, the first cause of all beings, who can subsist independent of the world; but nothing can subsist without him." The commentary adds, "That whatsoever he hath created shall return to its primitive nothing, by his good pleasure, but that his essence shall nowise be altered." Art. II. "That this God the creator is one indivisible, and has such an unity, as differs from all other unities." The Commentator adds, "That he is not a being which comprehends any different genus under it, as a being that may be divided into different parts, as a body capable of addition or diminution. His unity is absolute and perfect; no other essence can be compared to it." Art. III. That God is incorporeal, and that no corporeal quality can possibly be imagined to be in him." The Commentator says, "God can neither go, nor stop, nor speak, &c. and that the Scriptures only ascribe to him these corporeal actions, to comply with the mean capacity of mankind." Art. IV. God was from eternity, and that every thing besides him had its beginning in time. Art. V. He is the only object of worship, and that no other may be adored or observed either as mediators or intercessors." The Commentary observes, "That to remove all idolatry, which is condemned by the law and the whole scripture, neither angel nor saint, nor planet, nor any creature ought to be worshipped; and that no mediator or solicitors

^p Vide Buxtorfii Synagogam Jud. cap. 1. Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, book 4. cap. 1. p. m. 273.

between God and man ought to be set up. Art. VI. That there have been, and may be again, persons disposed for receiving the divine influence, that is, prophets. Art. VII. That Moses was a greater prophet, and was endowed with a different and higher degree of prophecy than all others. Art. VIII. That the laws which Moses has left, were all of them dictated by God, and that Moses put not one syllable of himself: And also, that the explication of these precepts, which they hold by tradition, came all out of the mouth of God to Moses. Art. IX. This law is immutable, and that there may be nothing either added to it or taken from it. X. That God knows and has regard to all human actions. XI. That God rewards all those who observe his law, and punishes all those who transgress it; and that the greatest reward is in the world to come, and that the damnation of the soul is the greatest punishment. Art. XII. That there shall come a Messias, who shall be more worthy than all the kings that were in the world before him; and though he defers his coming, yet it may not be doubted that he will come; nor may any one prefix a time for his coming, nor endeavour to gather the time of it out of the scriptures: Besides they believe that there is never more to be a king in Israel who is not of the race of David and Solomon. Art. XIII. That God will raise the dead. Blessed and glorified eternally be the name of the Creator. The Commentator concludes with these remarks, "That who soever embraceth these fundamental articles of faith, ought to be looked on as a Jew, and to be loved and pitied as such: That if he is guilty of these

these sins that flow from natural corruption, or the impetuosity of the passions, God will punish him in this world, yet he shall obtain eternal life. And whosoever rejects any of these fundamental articles, plucks up what God hath planted, deserves to be cast out of the congregation, and abhorred as an Epicurean." I shall not here make any reflections on this confession, nor shew how it is levelled against the Christian religion, in order to settle the respect which the Jews have for Moses, but shall now proceed to consider their rites and ceremonies.

§ 2. I begin with the Sanhedrim. Every body knows the origin thereof, that Moses being overcharged with judging all the causes of six hundred thousand men, did by divine direction, and at the motion of Jethro his father-in-law, commit that trust to seventy elders^c, who made up the great Sanhedrim. But it cannot be said that this tribunal still continued after the death of Moses; for in after times there is no mention made of this grand council. Joshua governed after this great lawgiver's death with great authority, and in many important affairs he called for the assistance of the elders of the nation; but even this shews that at that time there was no constant sitting council. After Joshua's death God raised up judges, whom he endowed with extraordinary courage and understanding; but we find not that they ever consulted the Sanhedrim. Neither does Nehemiah nor Ezra mention the restoring of this court. Nehemiah caused a covenant between God and the people

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^c Exod. xviii 12,—16. Numb xi 16, 17.

ple to be signed, but no mention of the Sanhedrim. If we look to the times of the Maccabees, we will find that court restored by Judas Maccabæus, or rather by Jonathan his brother ^d. There we may notice Jonathan elected to be general by the votes of his friends sitting in council. He called the people several times together, and by their advice and consent refused the offers of Demetrius ^e. When he sent letters to the Lacedæmonians, to procure an alliance with that republic, he wrote in the name of the senate, the high-priest and people. There is a senate ^f, and an high-priest at the head of it. The meeting was made up of priests and laymen; and as they made choice of those that were distinguished for their learning in the law, they must have had a right to sit therein. Thus the Evangelist Luke ^g observes, that when the apostle Paul was brought before the Sanhedrim, the scribes who were there, with the Pharisees and Sadducees, declared for him, saying, *We find no evil in this man.* They had their vote in the senate, since they declared for the apostle. As to the constitution of this judicatory, examination was made of the age, manners, trade and profession of those who were admitted members of so venerable a body: Gamesters, usurers, such as taught pigeons to fly, were not admitted: Eunuchs, old men, and those who had no children were also rejected, lest they should prove cruel and hard-hearted. There were three secretaries elected; one, to write the sentence of those who were absolved; another to draw up the condemnation

^d 1 Maccab. ix 28,—30. ^e Ibid. x 46. ^f Ibid. xii. 6. ^g Acts, xxiii. 9.

nation of such as were to be punished; and the third was to enter into the books the pleas of contending parties. Besides, they had three different classes of candidates to be instructed; and in case of variance, the place was immediately given to the senior.

The ancient Jewish church never pretended to infallibility for their Sanhedrim; their condemning our Saviour should make all Christians reject such an opinion with abhorrence: And it is but a wretched notion of some Papiſts, to transfer such an imaginary prerogative to the ſee of Rome. The Jewish Sanhedrim without doubt had a power of life and death before Judea was ſubdued by the Romans; but when Pompey overcame their country, they loſt their privileges; and it ſared ſtill worſe with them when Judea was reduced to the form of a Roman province, after the baniſhment Archelaus: So that at the time when our Saviour was condemned, the Romans had all the temporal power, and the Jews only a ſhadow of jurisdiction in ſpiritual matters. They proſecuted our Lord to death, but durſt not pronounce the ſentence; for they owned^h, *It is not lawful for us to put any man to death.* It was Pilate, the Roman deputy, who condemned him, even the ſame Pilate who had before mingled the blood of the Galileans with their ſacrificesⁱ. Fadus, another Roman deputy, having cleared the province of highwaymen, put to death Ptolemy the chief of the gang, and puniſhed Eleazar and his accomplices without ever conſulting the Sanhedrim^k. Our Lord fore-

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told

^h John xviii. 31. ⁱ Luke. xiii. 1. ^k Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 1.

told to his disciples, that *they would be scourged in the synagogues, and brought before governors and kings*¹, where he distinguishes the degrees of persecution. The Jews had power to inflict flagellation or scourging on those that violated the law; but when they designed to make a more severe example, then they made application to the governors of the provinces, who had the exercise of power in their hands, and delivered the innocent Christians up to suffer a greater punishment. Thus they pursued the apostle Paul before the Roman governor; but he appealed to Cæsar^m, and was remitted to Rome, there to abide his trial. As to the martyrdom of Stephen, it was done in a tumult, without a legal process. While he was pleading his cause, the furious mob rushed inⁿ, and dragged him out of the town, and stoned him to death.

The Sanhedrim being brought to nought by the destruction of Jerusalem, and the dispersion of that nation, it was scarce possible to preserve the authority of that court in so general a calamity. But when the Jews began to breathe again in every city where they were dispersed, they re-established some courts to determine cases of conscience and controversies, particularly at Tiberias, where they first lifted up their head. The Jewish doctors proportion the number of judges to the importance of the questions to be decided by them, maintaining their pecuniary mulcts, cases about intercalations, and defamatory causes may be judged by three persons; but the crimes that deserve death

¹ Matth. x. 17, 18. ^m Acts xxv. 11. ⁿ Acts vii. 58, 59.

death can only be cognosced by twenty-three judges^o; and more weighty concerns are to be carried to the council of seventy one: A false prophet cannot be arraigned before any other judicatory.

§ 3. There is little account of the Jewish synagogues in the Old Testament, only Asaph^p complains that *they have burnt up all the synagogues of God in the land*: The Hebrew word in that text Col moadhe-el, may signify all the assemblies of God, seeming to point at the desolation made at the time of the Babylonish captivity. Before this, private persons made their prayers to God in their own houses, where they had places set apart for that exercise. It was generally on the top of the house that the family and their friends met together to read some portion of the law on the Sabbath day; but when there was any prophet in the city, devout people assembled at his house, as appears by the Shunamite, who was asked by her husband the reason of going to the man of God, since it was neither new moon nor Sabbath^q, these being the usual times when they resorted to the prophets for instruction. People who were rich kept sometimes a Levite in their house to resolve their doubts; others made use of the prophets or Levites as they travelled through the country; thus the Shunamite had a chamber for Elisha. After their doctors had added their traditions and commentaries to the law, the ministry of interpreters became more necessary, because these traditions being unwritten, the number of interpre-

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tations

^o Mishnah tract de Synodis, p. 188.
iv. 33.

^p Psalm, lxxiv. 6. ^q 2 Kings,

tations daily encreased, and therefore convenient places were made choice of, that the people might meet and be instructed. Hence, and from the Hebrew tongue's becoming a dead language, which needed an interpreter, their synagogues encreased very considerably, so as there were reckoned four hundred and sixty of them in Jerusalem before the destruction of that city. In these synagogues the Jews have a cup-board, in which they lock up the five books of Moses: This was a memorial of the ark wherein the law was kept. In the middle of the synagogue there is a desk or pulpit where the rolls were brought, whence a portion of the law was read three times a week, and the reader puts a veil on his face at the time he was performing the holy office: But I have discoursed more fully of the Jewish synagogue^r, in another part of this work, and therefore I now go to another point.

§ 4. The multiplicity of laws, and the contradiction of doctors rendered academies more necessary. The Jews make Adam their first school-master, and tell that Enos, under whom many gathered together to call on the name of the Lord, Gen. iv. 26. taught these of his communion their catechism and religion: That Noah wrote a history of the creation, and many of the patriarchs taught schools^r: That Joshua founded in the land of Canaan Kiriath-Sepher, or the city of books, which looks like an academy where there was a library. But leaving these things as wanting a solid foundation, it is more certain that in Samuel's time there was a company or school of the prophets

^r See vol. iii p. 33.—38. (See Isaac Abendana, policy of the Jews, chap. v. of their schools.

phets¹, and that their prefect or president is called their father²; and since the sacred scriptures do not mention them till his time, we may venture to conclude that he was the founder of them, or at least that they were not long before him. It is not to be imagined that all these who frequented these schools became inspired men, or were able to foretel things to come; it is more likely that there the prophets trained up youth by teaching them to explain the law, and to serve God by a frequent practice of devotion. In Ahab's time we may observe that Obadiah took an hundred prophets, and hid them by fifty in a cave³, and the sons of the prophets are frequently mentioned⁴; there seems to have been a school of them at Bethel, and another at Jericho. In the time of Elisha, we find these sons of the prophets complaining that they were too much straitened in the places where they lived, and begging leave of him to go to the banks of Jordan, and make a place where they might dwell⁵. Some of them became prophets, but God did not fix his inspiration to men educated in these schools; few of the prophets whose writings are on record, did proceed from them. The Lord revived the lustre of the spirit of prophecy, by the miracles and glorious acts of Elijah and Elisha, and raised up many others from time to time to foretel the coming of the Messiah, to awaken people with desires after him, and to be witnesses for his name against the degeneracy of the Israelitish nation. In the days of our Saviour the Jews taught in the temple,

¹ 1 Sam. x. 5. ² Ibid. ver. 12. ³ 1 Kings, xviii. 4. ⁴ 2 Kings ii. 3. ⁵ 2 Kings vi. 1, 2.

where our Lord disputed with the doctors^a. They had also schools in other places; for Paul was brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, that is, in the school where he taught. They had afterwards academies set up at Japhne and Tiberias, which we have taken notice of in the former chapter, when speaking of the patriarchs, and we may again meet with them in the progress of this history. Their doctors and academies are now more scarce, and the profession less profitable, and therefore they do not now affect those titles, as when the same were more honourable and beneficial.

§ 5. I go next to consider the profelytes: Of these there were two sorts, first the profelytes of the gate, who were strangers both by birth and by religion, but not by affection, called in scripture *the stranger that is within thy gates*^b. He dwelt peaceably among the Israelites, and was only obliged to observe the seven precepts of Noah, which were, “not to commit idolatry, to bless the name of God, to beware of adultery and incest, to commit no murder nor theft, to do justly, not to eat blood, nor the flesh of any creature hurt by an animal yet alive.” The second sort were the profelytes of righteousness, who were strangers by birth, but neither by religion nor affection; and are called in the New Testament^c simply profelytes. Of their number it is supposed were Naaman the Syrian, Araunah the Jebusite, Cornelius, and the eunuch belonging to queen Candace; also these women, Zipporah the wife of Moses, Joseph’s wife, the two midwives in Egypt, Rahab,

^a Luke, ii. 46. ^b Deut. xiv. 21. ^c Acts ii. 10.

Rahab, Ruth, Jael, &c. Before a Jew received a Gentile to the number of such profelytes, they examined the sincerity of his conversion, least fear, interest, or ambition had occasioned it; then they taught him several articles of religion, as what regarded the unity of God, the impiety of idolaters, the recompence of virtue, the punishment of vice, and the like: After this he was admitted to circumcision, to a sort of baptism, and to present his sacrifice to be offered. Some authors observe ^d several remarkable periods for admitting profelytes; as first, upon the Jews coming out of Egypt, at which time Jethro, father-in-law to Moses, is said to have been admitted; and a great number of Egyptians astonished at Moses' miracles, or driven to it by necessity, joined with the Israelites. Secondly, In the reigns of David and Solomon, Maimonides affirms that these princes admitted no profelytes, because it was to be feared that the prosperity of their reigns rather than love to religion might draw strangers to embrace the way of the Jews; and therefore Solomon built no porch for the Gentiles, and Ezekiel did not measure it: But this is disputed by Villalpand, who finds out mysterious reasons for Ezekiel's not measuring the outer court ^e; but it is mentioned Rev. xi. 2. Thirdly, during the captivity, the Jews being spread among the Medes and Chaldeans, where being mingled with idolaters, especially after Alexander the Great's conquests, they were not only obliged to submit to him, but also to the kings of Syria and Egypt who succeeded him:

^d Basnage's hist. of Jews, book 5. chap. 6. p. 416. ^e Villalpandus in Ezekielem, lib. 3. cap. 28. p. 206, & p. 226. tom. 2.

him : This made them more soft and easy to the Gentiles, whom before they looked upon with scorn. Yea, some profelytes, at least such as were born of a Jewish mother, were admitted to considerable employs in Judea, as Abtalion and Schemamaia, who are said to have been presidents of the council. Josephus tells us, that great care was taken to send the genealogies of profelytes from Babylon to Jerusalem, and also of those who were married to strangers : But this only concerned the priests ; for laymen, though descended of Pagans, were admitted to several offices, though certainly it was more glorious among them to be an Hebrew of the Hebrews, that is, descended of Jewish parents, both on the father and mother's side, of which the apostle Paul tells^f, he might boast if he pleased. Fourthly, At the beginning of Christianity the Pharisees compassed sea and land to make profelytes; but this was only for strengthening their own party ; for *it made them twofold more children of hell than themselves*^g. We may also observe, that when Christianity had made some progress in the world, Cornelius the centurion, who had been used to worship the true God in Judea, embraced our religion^h ; and also many Jewish profelytes from Asia, Egypt, and other placesⁱ, were converted by the doctrine and miracles of the holy apostles, and they not only continued zealous Christians, but also contributed to the conversion of infidels ; and these were the first fruits of the general conversion of this nation, which shall be accomplished before the end of the world.

§ 6. I am

^f Phil. iii. 5. ^g Matth xxiii 15. ^h Acts x. ⁱ Acts ii. 10,—41. Acts xiii 43.

§ 6. I am next to consider the rites of the Jewish Circumcision. The Lord appointed that every man-child of the see of Abraham should be circumcised^f; and the patriarch himself, when he was ninety-nine years old, received this seal of the covenant, which was a seal of the righteousness by faith. But I am not now to speak of circumcision under the Old Testament, which hath been already done^g, but only to explain the rites which the modern Jews make use of in administering this ordinance. Leo of Modena^h, a learned Jew, gives us the following account of this matter: "The Jews, when they circumcise, may not perform the ceremony before the eighth day; but if the child be weak, they defer it till he is recovered. The night before the circumcision is called the watching-night, because those that belong to the house watch all night, to look after the child; and that evening the father's friends come and visit him, and the women go to the mother, and spend the evening in merriment and making good cheer. They are provided beforehand of a godfather, who is to hold the child while he is circumcised, and a god-mother, who carries him from the house to the synagogue and back again: These, for the most part are relations of the father and mother. They also make choice of a circumciser, whom they call Mohel, which may be whom they please, provided he is expert in the business. They reckon it a matter of the greatest merit; and if the father be one, he may circumcise his own child himself. In the morning

^f Gen. xvii. 10, 24. Rom. iv. 11.

^g See Vol. I. page 167,—171.

^h Ceremonies of the Jews, part 4 chap. 8. p. 193 & seq.

ing they set, either in the synagogue, or else in the house, if they design to circumcise there, two chairs with silk cushions, one for the godfather, while he holds the child to be circumcised, the other (some say) is for the prophet Elias, whom they believe to be invisibly present, as having been jealous of the covenant of Israel, as we read in the first book of the kings. There are a great many people present, and the circumciser comes with a charger, in which are his instruments, as the razor, astringent powders, lint, and oil of roses. Some use to get a dish with sand in it, in which they put the foreskin that is cut off. They sing some hymn, till the godmother, accompanied with some women, bring the child in her arms, whom she delivers at the door of the synagogue to the godfather, and then all that are present cry out, Baruch Aba, that is, Welcome. When the godfather takes his seat, and places the child upon his knees, and the circumciser unswaddles him, (and some make use of silver pincers to take up so much of the foreskin as they design to cut off) the circumciser takes his razor, and says, "Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hast enjoined us circumcision," and cuts off the thicker skin of the prepuce, and then with his thumb-nails tears the thinner skin which remains. In the meantime the father gives thanks to God for this precept, and the standers by pray, "That as he had lived to see him circumcised, so might he live to see him married." The circumciser goes on, and sucks two or three times of the blood which flows plentifully from the wound, and puts it into a cup of wine. Then he puts upon the wound the herb dragons

dragons blood, powder of coral, and other things good to stanch blood, and lint dipped in oil of roses, and binds it up close. After this he takes a cup of wine, and having blessed it, he says another blessing for the child, and gives him such a name as the father orders, saying these words in Ezekiel xvi. *I said unto thee when thou wast in thy blood, Live,* and at the same time wets the mouth of the child with the wine which he spat the blood into that he had sucked out of the wound. Last of all, they say the whole of the cxxviiith Psalm. This done, the godfather returns the child to the godmother, and they all tell the father that they hope to see his son married too, and then they go home. Afterwards the circumciser sends sweat-meats or some other present to the lying-in woman; and if the parents of the child are poor people, they send them money. That morning the father of the child makes an entertainment and treats the circumciser, godfather and godmother, the relations and friends, in the best manner he is able. After dinner they add to the other benedictions some prayers for the child, that he may be great and prosperous, and one that fears God. The child is soon cured of his wound received by circumcision, at most in twenty-four. When a girl is born, they use no ceremony, only that at the beginning of the month, when the mother is got up and goes to the synagogue, the chaunter blesses the girl, and gives her such a name as the father pleaseth.—If a child dies uncircumcised before he be eight days old, some use to circumcise it with a need before they bury it."

We may also observe, That the circumciser is obliged to keep a register of the names of these he hath circumcised; the names of the father and child, of the godfather and godmother are interwoven in the record, with some texts of scripture. The modern Jews, when a child is to be born, write upon the chamber doors, upon the walls, about the bed these words, "Adam, Eva, Chuts Lilit," that is, Adam, Eve, away hence Lilit; which is a kind of prayer to God, that if he gives a daughter, she may resemble Eve rather than Lilit; and if a son be born, that he may marry a wife that is not stubborn nor wicked as Lilit, but obedient and gentle like Eve; for they tell that Adam's first wife called Lilit was stubborn and disobedient, a mere scold; but Adam, by the name Jehovah, made her fly away into the air, and upon her refusing to return, he got Eve, who was more obedient¹; and the like Talmudical stories they tell upon every occasion. The mother, after child-bearing, whether she hath born male or female, must be purified forty days before she can converse with her husband, and after that, washed in cold water.

§ 7. The manner of solemnizing the paschal solemnity, while the Jewish oeconomy remained in its vigour, is plain from the Old Testament; but the modern Jews having neither temple, altars nor sacrifices, nor liberty to kill the paschal lamb, have changed their rites. Their present customs upon this occasion appear from Leo de Modena, who tells us^k, "The first day of the feast

¹ Buxtorfii synagoga, cap. 2. p. m. 70.—73.

^k Ceremonies of the Jews, part 3. chap. 3.

feast of the passover, called in Hebrew Pefach, which is observed in commemoration of their going out of Egypt, is on the 15th day of the month Nisan; which for most part answers to April. It is commanded to be kept a week, but those who are remote from Jerusalem make eight days of it. The two first days, and the two last, are kept as a solemn feast, and on these days they may not work, nor do any business; but they keep them in a manner as strict as the Sabbath, only they may meddle with the fire, and dress meat, and carry things from one place to another; as for these four days in the middle, they are only forbidden to work, but they may handle money. During these eight days, they are forbidden to eat, or keep in their house, any bread that is raised or leavened, but are obliged to eat unleavened bread only; upon which account they begin the passover with the utmost diligence, removing every thing that had in it raised or leavened paste, searching diligently their cup-boards, and taking care to clean the house and whiten it, and providing utensils for the kitchen all new, or else of metal new cast and scoured, or such as are kept from year to year for the use of the passover only. The evening before the vigil of the feast, the master of the house goes and searches all about the house, to see if he can find any where any leavened bread. About the fifth hour of the next day, they burn some bread, in token that the prohibition of eating leavened bread now begins to be in force; which action is accompanied with certain words, signifying that they have removed all leaven out of their houses to the utmost of their

their power; immediately after, they set about making so many unleavened cakes, which they call Mazzod, as shall last them all these eight days, taking great care of their meal, from the time that it comes from the mill, that it be not wet nor heated, for fear it should rise they knead it with water only, and make it into flat cakes of several shapes, bake it, and then lay it up with great nicety. The first-born of every family use to fast the passover-eve, which is the 14th of Nisan, in remembrance that the night following God smote all the first-born of Egypt. At night they go to prayers, and when they come home, they sit down at the table, which every one takes care to furnish in the day-time; and instead of the ceremony formerly observed, of eating the paschal lamb, as is written Exod xii. they have in a bason or large basket, a piece of lamb or kid, and unleavened cakes, and bitter herbs, as parsley, endive or lettice, with a little saucer of pickle for sauce, in memory of the chalk or bricks which their fore-fathers wrought in, when they were in Egypt, and holding cups of wine in their hands, they repeat the Hagada, which contains a repetition of the miseries they suffered, and the miracles God wrought for their deliverance. Then they praise God for all the benefits they have received, and say the cxiii. with the following Psalms to the cxix. which they call Hallel, because they begin with Hallelujah. When they have made an end of these, with other thanksgivings proper to the day, they go to bed, and next evening do the same. The morning prayers are the same which are used on all other feasts; only they

they add something proper to the present occasion, with the aforeſaid Pſalms; then they take out the pentateuch, five perſons read Exod. xii. with the inſtitution of the ſacrifices offered at the paſſover Num. xxviii. Afterwards they read the prayer Muſaf, and out of the prophets they read the Aſtara. The ſame is done the two laſt days, only the ſame things are not done at the table, the laſt two evenings, as were done the two firſt. They conclude this feaſt with the ceremony called Habdala, uſed at the end of the Sabbath, with words only, and without the ceremony of ſmelling to any ſweet ſpices, and then they return to the eating of leavened bread." Thus far Leo de Modena. The Jews regard this ſacrament as everlaſting, as peculiar to their nation, and to thoſe who have received circumciſion. But notwithſtanding all their rites, they neither obſerve it conformable to the law of Moſes: For they have no ſacrifice; nor do they ſerve up the lamb wholly roaſted; nor do they uſe the ſame pſalms and prayers; nor do they underſtand the true meaning of the ſervice to ſignify *Chriſt our paſſover ſacrificed for us.*

§ 8. The Jewish feaſt of the paſſover was always celebrated on the fourteenth day of the month Niſan, after the vernal equinox, when the moon was full. God himſelf gave this law; for when the people came out of Egypt, he appointed Niſan, which correſponds with part of our March and April, to be the firſt of the year, that the deliverance of his people might be exactly remembered; but this related only to the feaſts of the church. The months being lunar, to make them quadrate with the courſe of the ſun, ſome intercalations

were necessary. To understand this matter, and the time of observing the Jewish festivals we are now to explain, it may be proper a little to consider the Jewish hours, days, months, and years. I begin with their hours. We are so accustomed to divide night and day by equal hours, as we are apt to think it was never otherwise; meantime, it is certain that the politest nations were for a long time ignorant of this art. The learned Salmasius asserts, That the division of hours by dials began to be first known among the Greeks only a little before the time of Alexander the Great, because neither the comical poets nor philosophers speak of hours, but to signify seasons. But it is probable the Greeks knew this art sooner; for Herodotus, who lived in the reign of Xerxes the Persian tells¹, "That the Greeks took the use of dials from the Babylonians, dividing the day into twelve parts." Xenophon also, who was with Cyrus the Younger in his expedition into Persia, says^m, "The luminous sun discovers the hours of the day unto us." As to the Romans, they knew nothing of hours and dials till the first Punic war; then Messala the consul returning from Sicily, after the taking of Catanaⁿ, brought a dial to Rome, and set it up in a public place about the year of that city 491, before the birth of Christ 262 years. In more ancient times they measured the hours by the distance of feet in the shadow

¹ Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 109. Πόλον ἔγνώμονα καὶ τὰ δώδεκα μέτρα τῆς ἡμέρας παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων ἔμαθον Ἕλληνες.

^m Xenophon memorabilium, lib. 4. p. 800 in edit. Francof. 1596. ⁿ Plinii nat. hist lib. 7, cap. 60.

shadow of the sun to the body. But the Jews had the use of hours and dials long before they were known in Greece or at Rome; for both Herodote and Pliny^o own, that these came from Chaldea and the east, first into Greece, and after that to Rome; and we find express mention of the dial of Ahaz, 2 Kings xx. 10, 11. Now Ahaz flourished in the year of the world 3209, about 741 years before the birth of Christ, and 250 years before the time Herodote speaks of. But then, and long after that the Jewish hours were not equal; for they still reckoned twelve hours to the day, and as many to the night; and therefore the hours were shorter in winter and longer in summer, which occasioned a multiplicity of lines: And from this we may infer, That when the sun did go down ten degrees in Ahaz's dial, to assure Hezekiah of the recovery of his health, these degrees might be only lines denoting the inequality of the hours; which might be without prolonging the day above an hour or two; and this not being occasioned by any conjunction in the heavens, but by the over-ruling hand of Providence, was not so considerable as to awaken the curiosity of neighbouring nations to mind it; for since there are no histories written by heathens at that time now extant, we need not question the truth of the fact, because they do not observe it. Mr. Weyms of Lathocker, our countryman, says, "That the Jews learned the division of the day into whole hours from the Romans^p." This is a mere conjecture, and nothing in the gospel nor

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^o Locis citatis.^p Of the Judicial Law, p. 89.

in history determines us to believe it; for there we find that the Jews counted the hours from sun-rising, and the day was divided into four parts, notified by sound of trumpet on solemn feast-days, because at such times they resumed their devotions and sacred exercises. The first of these four portions was from six of the clock till nine, called the third hour^a; and at this hour Christ seems to have been indicted^r. The second portion was from nine to our twelve at noon, called the sixth hour^s. The third was from our twelve-a-clock to three afternoon, called the ninth hour^t: And the fourth division was from three to six at night, or sun-set.

As to the Jewish days, they were divided into three sorts, first natural, which contains both night and day, beginning at sun-set. Thus we read Genesis i. v. *The evening and the morning were the first day.* They began this day at evening sun-set, because of the new moon; the feast whereof was to be celebrated after seeing the crescent or first appearance. The modern Jews observe the same custom, beginning the celebration of their feasts with the evening. The second sort was the artificial day of twelve hours, beginning at sun-rising, and ending at his setting. Their night was divided into three watches^u, each consisting of four unequal hours as their day. At first they distinguished their days of the week by number first, second, &c. but now they give them the ordinary planetary names, Sunday, Monday and the rest; only our Friday they call the Preparation,

^a Acts ii. 15. ^r Mark xv. 25. ^s Matth. xxvii. 45. ^t Ibidem.

^u Lam. ii. 19. Judges vii. 19. Exod. xiv. 24

tion, it being immediately before their Sabbath. Lastly, there is the prophetical day, the prophets being the only persons who have named days² for years.

As to the Jewish months, these were lunar, which consisting only of twenty-nine or thirty days at most, their year, when made up of twelve lunar months, wanted eleven days to make it equal with a solar year consisting of 365 days; and therefore they were obliged to intercalate one month, which they called *Veadar*, that they might not celebrate the passover, nor offer the first fruits, but at their appointed season. The names of the ecclesiastical months among the Jews were, *Nisan*, *Jiar*, *Sivan*, *Tamus*, *Ab*, *Elul*, *Tifri*, *Marchefvan*, *Kisleu*, *Thebeth*, *Sebat*, *Adar*. There correspondence with months among us may be easily discovered, if we notice that the Jewish *Nisan* began with the 15th of our March, and their *Jiar* with the 15th of our April, and so forward. But I shall not further enlarge upon the different computations of their months and years, but rather remit the curious reader to Scaliger, primate Usher, Petavius and other learned chronologers.

The Jews had a twofold calculation of their year, the ecclesiastic year began in March, or the first of *Nisan*, because then they came out of Egypt; From thence they reckoned their solemn feasts; and from this frequently the prophets took the date of their visions and oracles. Their civil year began with the Jewish month *Tifri*, at the same time with the 15th of our September, by reason

² Ezek. vi. 1, — 6.

of an old tradition that the world was created at that time. From this year they reckon their Jubilees, dated all contracts¹, noted the birth of their children, and the reign of their kings. It is also said, That this month was the time of war, because the great heats being over then, they went to the field with more courage and safety. Thus, some explain that text, 2 Samuel xi. 1. *At the time when kings go forth to battle*, that is, about our September, when the heat of the season begins to decline². Leaving this subject,

§ 9. I go now to consider the rites of the Jewish Sabbath. They have an exalted notion of this day, and are extremely afraid to violate the rest thereof; for they say, he who breaks the Sabbath violates the whole law, and undermines the foundations of religion. Rabbi Joses tells us, upon the authority of Simeon Jochaides, That this command was given in secret to the people of Israel, to distinguish them from all the nations of the world. Their rest on the Sabbath begins on the Friday evening, half an hour before sun-set; and all things forbidden are from that time to be refrained. Their women are obliged³ to light a lamp, which has six wicks, or four at least, which lasts a good part of the night; and this is one of the ceremonies they observe with great exactness. The poor must beg oil rather than want a lamp burning in their houses, because that is necessary for

¹ Vide Rabbi Ori *Calendarium Palæstinorum* apud Wechelium 1593. Seldeni *Calendarium Judaicum*. Isaaci Abarbanelis *dissertationem de principio anni* in Buxtorfii *mantissa ad librum Cosij*, p. 431.—455 Isaac Abendana of the *Policy of the Jews*, cap. 6 of their Calendar. ² Weyms of the *Judicial Law*, p. 106. ³ Leo de Modena of the *customs of modern Jews*, p. 109, 110.

for the delight of the Sabbath, mentioned by the prophet Isaiah. At the same time they illuminate their synagogues in imitation of the ancient temple; and the doctors have laid down a great many rules concerning candles and lamps. The women are commissioned to light them for two reasons. One is, because they are generally at home, and know the precise hour when the Sabbath begins. The other is mystical; for hereby they are put in mind of the sin of Eve, who, after she had eaten the forbidden fruit, took a stick and beat her husband, to oblige him to commit the same crime: "For (said she) I must die, and am resolved thou shalt die with me." Adam complained of this evil treatment to God; for when he tells him, *She gave me of the tree*, he meant a blow with a stick. The sun seeing it, hid his light, it is therefore necessary that the women should light the lamps they have extinguished, and that they should be charged with this, to expiate their sin; For by doing it they perform a work as meritorious, as if they lighted the golden candlestick in the temple. The men go to the synagogue to say prayers on Friday evening, coming from it they bless one another, and wish each other a good Sabbath. At their return they find the table covered; there must be salt upon it, two loaves covered above and below, and a cup of wine. The bread is thus wrapped in a napkin, because it represents that which fell between two dews, or because it is ashamed to appear before the wine, which has the honour to be first sanctified by prayer. The father of the family first takes the cup, blesteth it, giving thanks to God who hath
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instituted the Sabbath in memory of the creation. They sing the twenty-third psalm; then he blesses the bread, and distributes it to them all. Meantime they steadily behold the lighted lamps, to repair the decays of their eyes, weakened by the numerous slips they have made in the week. Having tasted the wine, they cut the bread and eat it, making merry. This is the first repast of the three they are to make on the Sabbath, to exempt themselves from three great evils, the punishments of the Messiah, the war of Gog and Magog, and the fire of Hell. The morning following they rise later than usually, and go to the synagogue, where they sing a great many psalms and prayers proper for the celebration of the Sabbath, besides these used every day. Then they take out the pentateuch, and seven of them read the proper section for the day, with some place in the prophets suitable to that lesson read out of the law. The last lesson is called *Astera*, and is for the most part read by a child^b, to exercise him. Then he who holds the book in his arms, lifts it up high, and gives a blessing to all that are present. And after a solemn blessing upon the prince under whose government they live, praying God preserve him in peace and quiet, and make him kind to the Jewish nation, as it is said, Jer. xxix. 7. they say another prayer which they call *Musfa*, signifying Addition; in which are contained the words which are used at the sacrifice on the Sabbath in the temple, and so they conclude. They have sermons in some of the rich and powerful

^b Leo-de Modena, Customs of the Jews, part 3. cap. 1. p. 114.

ful synagogues commonly in the vulgar tongue (but the passages of the scripture and sentences of the doctors are cited in Hebrew,) explaining to the people what they think fit to let them know, as the church of Rome doth. They generally raise useless difficulties, which they explain by a strange medley of passages from the Gemara, which leaves the mind of their most attentive hearers in darkness. When evening is come, they return to the synagogue again, where they add to their ordinary prayers a commemoration of the Sabbath, and the beginning of the lesson out of the Pentateuch for the following week, read by three persons. They make three meals during the Sabbath, one upon Friday evening, and two the next day: In honour of that festival, they let the cloth lie upon the table all the day long. When the evening is come, so as they can see three stars of the middle magnitude, the feast of the Sabbath is ended; and they may do any work as soon as evening prayer is begun: And because they hold that the souls of the damned in Hell and in Purgatory have rest on the Sabbath, which begins with the evening prayer on Friday, and ends on the same on Saturday, they prolong their prayers with singing. Every one when he comes home lights a torch or lamp with two wicks, at least takes a cup of wine in one hand, and sweet smelling spices in the other; and thus repeats some verses in the sacred text, as Psal. cxvi. 13. or Esther viii. 16. Of these sweet spices they tell that they were compounded of 368 different aromatic drugs, which the high-priest pounded in a mortar. They find great mysteries in the number, and think that
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this perfume is necessary to guard them from the ill odour exhaled from Hell-fire, which begins to burn when the Sabbath ends.

It would be too tedious to enlarge upon the superstitious observances of the Jewish Sabbath; An entire volume of the Mishnah contains most severe rules for the observation of this bodily rest, while they have little zeal for true piety; for which they have been long since taxed by Rutilius^c. In Maimonides's time, in the places where they had liberty, they sounded the trumpet six times, to give notice that the Sabbath was beginning. At the first sound the countryman left his plough, at the second they shut up their shops, at the third they covered the pits, &c. Some of them have continued twenty-four hours in the same posture and place where the sun surprised him at his setting; and though the sacred scriptures allow a Sabbath-day's journey, yet they have strangely limited it by their modern doctors, raising doubts about every point. In the time of the Maccabees, it was determined that they might resist an enemy coming to destroy their lives on the Sabbath, but afterwards they esteemed it unlawful to prepare things necessary for their defence on that day; which Pompey made his advantage of, by preparing his engines on that day, that he might play them with more violence on the following days of the week, which contributed very much to reduce the place. It is a known story, that the Jews refused to take a man out of a privy into which he had fallen, for fear of violating

^c In Itinerario, lib. 1. — *Frigida Sabbata cordi, Sed cor frigidius religione sua,*

lating the Sabbath; and therefore the bishop of the place ordered him to remain there on the next day, being the Christian Sabbath, and against the third day he was dead. It is not lawful for a woman to carry on that day a sewing needle, nor for a man to have a sword or a bow, or even shoes with nails in them: Nor is it permitted to look into a glass, lest the women, being curious about their dress, should observe a hair ill placed, and so lift up their hands to put it in order. It is a great crime to cut their nails or bite them, to pluck off their hairs, or paint themselves. However the doctors distinguish, and allow the plucking off the hair that is going to fall, or to cut a nail that is cleft or divided. They make a difference also of the punishment; for they stone him who plucks off his nails with his hand, but he deserves capital punishment when he makes use of scissars. It is not lawful to sign one's name, or even to write two letters. Many of these superstitions may be seen in the Mishnah: however they find means to elude some severities prescribed by their doctors.

As to the other Jewish festivals, an entire volume in their Talmud is taken up in describing them. Maimonides and Bartenora in their commentaries have added many observations. Their feasts are all consecrated to God Almighty, none of them to heathen deities, nor to angels or saints.

§ 10. Their civil year begins on the first of Tisri, or our September. Hence the first and second days of that month are a festival, which they call Ros-asana, the head or the beginning of the year^a,
Lev.

^a Leo de Modena, ceremonies of modern Jews, part 3. chap. 5.

Lev. xxiii. All manner of work is forbidden, as in the passover; and because they have a tradition, that on this day God takes cognisance of the actions done the year past, and disposes of the events of the following year, as if it being the world's birth, God had a particular regard to it. To avoid condemnation, the Zealots spend the month of Elul in fasting and acts of repentance; others dedicate the four last days of that month to that end, and especially the eve of the New-year's day. They both confess their sins, and beat their breasts as they sink in the bathing water: At last they plunge head and ears, that they may appear clean all over in the sight of God. Not satisfied with these blows by the fist, they give themselves thirty-nine lashes by way of penance. Some go the next day to the synagogue in the habit they have chosen for their burial, or else in white, which is an emblem of purity. Perhaps the papists have derived their vigils, their whipcord discipline, and the merit they pretend thereof, from these practices. The trumpet is sounded many days before the end of the year, to deafen the devil, that he may not know how to accuse the Jews. It is sounded also the first day of the year, to advertise the people that God is coming to judge. In the morning they go to the synagogue, and make many prayers. The rest of that day is employed in hearing sermons, or in some acts of devotion. Departing, they salute one another, saying, "Be thou written in a good year," and then go seat themselves at table, and make merrry; where, among other dishes, they have the head

head of a ram^e, in memory of the ram caught in the thicket in the room of Isaac. In the mean time, they tell that God forms the judgment in heaven : He opens three books ; one for the wicked, which is the book of death ; another for the righteous, which is the book of life ; and a third for men in a middle state, who are neither totally good nor bad. This they found on *Exod. xxxii. 32.* which doth not prove their point.

§ 11. The feast of propitiations, called Chipur, is celebrated nine days, from the first to the tenth of their month Tifri, and is looked upon as one of the most beneficial solemnities of the nation, which receives then the remission of sins as the fruits of repentance. What were the rites Moses appointed or the feast of expiation we see from the law, *Lev. xxiii. 27,—33.* But the modern Jews have quite forsaken these. Now they prepare themselves for this feast by prayers, and by the sacrifice of a cock. Taking one of these domestic animals, they give him three blows on the head, saying, "This shall be my ransom, to suffer the death that I have deserved, and make my expiation." They wring his neck, dash him against the ground, thereby confessing they deserve to lose their life ; and boil him, because the sinner deserves the fire : Lastly, They throw the cock's intrails upon the roof of the house, to expose them to the ravens ; which seize them, and carry them into the desert, as they formerly sent thither the goat Azael, loaden with the sins of the people. A white cock is preferable to that of any other colour

^e Ruxtorff Synogoga, cap. 19, p. m. 352.

lour, because of its purity. The women take a hen, and those who are with child sacrifice both a cock and a hen^f. They formerly gave these sort of victims to the poor, to regale with; but the poor complaining that they made them eat the sins of the rich, they changed it into alms, reserving the sacrificed cock to the evening entertainment. Leo of Modena^g affirms, that this custom is laid aside both in the Levant and in Italy, as being superstitious, and not built upon any foundation; but other Jews still use it. This expiation being made, they go to the burying-place, to pray God to pardon them in memory of saints interred there. They throw themselves into the water, to make an ablution of their sins: They prepare lights for the next day, and each one carries his own to the synagogue. A great many of them clothe themselves in white, or in their winding sheet, and go bare-foot and bare-legged to the synagogue, which on this day is illuminated with a great many lamps of oil and wax torches, where they say a great many penitential prayers and confessions. At night, those who are at variance with their neighbour finds him out to ask his pardon, and oblige him to be reconciled. Upon the first refusal he takes three witnesses; afterwards he brings ten^h, before whom he protests he has done his duty, and that God can no longer lay this sin to his charge. They go to the tombs of the dead to ask their pardon, when they had the misfortune not to be reconciled to them while they lived;

^f Buxtorfii Synagoga, cap. 20. p. 356. & cap. 21. ^g Ceremonies of the modern Jews, part 3. chap. 6. p. 141. ^h Maimonides, de Pœnitentia, cap. 1 & 2.

lived ; and this satisfaction is made in presence of ten witnesses. They chuse one of their friends, with whom they go into a corner, and lash each other, repeating Psal. lxxviii. 38. which verse containing thirteen words, at each word they give a lash, and thrice repeat it. When the feast commenceth they go to the synagogue ; each lights his candle, and sings hymns with a loud voice. If the light be clear, sins are forgiven ; but if the tallow or wax run, they fear the wrath of God which produces sighs and tears. They enter early into the synagogue, spend the day in a severe fast without distinction after they are twelve years of age ; they read a long prayer, bring the law and read that part of it which relates to the feast of propitiations and ceremony of Azael. At the end of the day, the Rabbi gives the blessing with the elevation of his hands, and the people hide their face. When night is come, so that they can see the stars, they wind the same horn which they used at the beginning, to give notice that the feast is ended, and in memory of the jubilee, which began with the propitiation. Lastly, They return home with joy, imagining their sins are pardoned, and change their name, that they may deceive God, telling him, " I am another ; it is not I that committed this sin." Mean time we may observe, that all these ceremonies are vain and superstitious, while they neglect to betake themselves to the great propitiatory sacrifice, the blood of Jesus Christ that cleanseth from all sin.

§ 12. The feast of Pentecost is one of the most solemn, Deut. xvi. 9, 10. Lev. xxiii. 15. It is called *the Feast of Weeks*, being seven weeks after the

the passover; *the Feast of First-fruits*, which were then offered, and *the Feast of Harvest*, which then began to be reaped. The Jews conceive that the law was given on that day on mount Sinai; and to recal the same to memory in a most sensible manner, they make a very thick cake, composed of six lays of paste, which they call Sinai; and this cake puts them also in mind of the seven heavens, through which they believe God was to pass to reascend into the Empyrean. They exactly reckon all the days that are past from the passover, that they may not be mistaken in the moment wherein the pentecost ought to begin. Notwithstanding all these calculations, they are still afraid of being deceived, and therefore celebrate two feast-days. There is nothing peculiar in the rites of this feast, except that the law is twice brought out¹, that five persons read it, and the synagogue and windows of their houses are adorned with flowers and greens, to insinuate that every thing was green about Sinai, though the mountain was in a desert in Arabia.

§ 13. Upon the fifteenth day of Tisri, with us about the end of September, they celebrate the feast of tabernacles, which they call Succod, in remembrance of their living after that manner in the desert when they went out of Egypt, Lev. xxiii. 42, 43. The feast now lasts nine days, seven by the order of Moses, and two by superelevation. Every one builds one of these tents for himself in an open place, somewhere about his own house, and covers it with green boughs, boarding

¹ Buxtorfi Synagoga, cap. 15. p. 319.

bordering it on the inside, and adorning it as he is able, in which he spends the day. They formerly passed whole nights in them; but this custom is changed, at least in the west, where the nights are colder. The figure of the tabernacles may be seen in the Mishnah^k, which Surenhusius has well explained. We shall only remark, that the booth was not to be above twenty cubits high, nor less than ten hands. The boughs wherewith they cover them must not be dry; and it is a crime to take them in an idolatrous city, or to steal them. Jehuda will have the branches which they hold in their hands to be bound with twigs of the same tree: But R. Meir is of another opinion, for he allows the use of osier and thread. They carry the branches to the synagogue, where they leave them, and fetch them the next morning: But they must be gathered together on the eve of the Sabbath, and put in water-vessels for fear of withering. The first day of the feast they take one branch of palm, three of myrtle, and one of willow, bound together; all which they carry in the right hand. In the left they have a branch of citron with the fruit. They bring them near one another, and turn them about to the four-parts of the world, thinking God has commanded it in Lev. xxiii. Besides, they find here great mysteries: The palm is handsome, but bears an insipid fruit; representing the hypocritical Jews, who study the divine law, but do no good works: The myrtle, which has a grateful smell, though it be barren, represents those that do good works

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^k Ordo festorum, p. 259.—270.

without the law: The willow is the image of the wicked, who have neither law nor virtue; and the citron with its fruit denotes the righteous, who have both the law and good works. Whereas they formerly made four turns about the altar in the temple, singing three Hosannahs, as if they beseeched the blessed Trinity to save them, says the bishop of Ely¹, at present they make their turns about the reading desk, holding these branches; which they go in quest of as far as Spain, and sell them at very dear rates where these trees and fruit grow not without difficulty. Buxtorf says^m, he saw in that very harvest in which he wrote, a citron bought at the price of four florins. On the seventh day, which they count more holy than the rest, they leave their branches: Rising with the sun they wash themselves, and go to the synagogue, where they sing abundance of prayers, which they repeat with a confused rapidity and swiftness, as supposing the Israelites during their journey were obliged to make haste, even in the service of God, and the prayers they made to him. They draw out of the chest seven copies of the law; if there were twenty they would produce them all; (the desk being adorned with flowers) and having read something in every one, they carry them back one after another with great ceremony. Their superstition is so great, that they go to consult the moon, and fancy they find by her a prediction of many events. To this purpose, he who consults her examines the shadow of his body projected from her rays; if the shadow

¹ See Dr. Patrick on Leviticus xxiii. 40. ^m Buxtorf. in Synagoga, cap. 16 p. 332.

dow wants a head, it is a sign of death, if it wants a finger, it is ominous that he shall lose one of his friends; the death of a son is signified by the want of a right hand, and that of a daughter by the want of a left. All this they pretend to found on these words of Moses, *the protection of God* (in Hebrew the *Shadow*) *is withdrawn from them*; and the commentaries of the Rabbies confirm their superstition. The eighth day of the feast they get their friends together, and give them an entertainment. They finish the ninth day with reading the law proper for that occasion, according to its sections, chusing two bridegrooms of the law, one whereof reads the end, and the other the beginning, the people making joyful acclamations. As they depart good and all from the arbours, they beg the favour of continuing in the tabernacle of the leviathan, by which they doubtless desire to see the entertainment of the Messiah, in which they fancy the leviathan shall be served up as a delicious dish.

§ 14. The new moon is another of the feasts they celebrate; but it is no crime to work on that day, idleness being principally reserved for women. The Talmudists tell, that the moon being disturbed with a competitor in the heavens, represented to God the impossibility of two heads wearing the same crown^a, and that there ought to be but one king in heaven as on earth. God being provoked with this remonstrance, lessened and shrunk the moon. They imagine Moses insinuates this change when he says, *God made two great*

O 2

lights,

^a Buxtorf. in Synagoga, cap. 17. p. m. 338.

lights, one shall rule over the day, and the lesser shall rule over the night; which shews that he had lessened its light and beauty. Divers propositions were made to comfort her; but God being convinced that she was in the wrong, required a propitiatory sacrifice to be made on every new moon, ordering the day also to be celebrated. Their devotion on that occasion consists in a fast, which the votaries keep in the evening, with a certain number of prayers they repeat in the synagogue, and an entertainment which they make afterwards, in which they much divert themselves. Three days after they meet on a flat roof, where they stedfastly behold the moon, bless God with a long prayer for having created her, and for renewing her to teach the Israelites that they ought to become new creatures. They leap in the air as high as they can, and say to the moon, "as we leap towards thee without being able to touch thee, so may our enemies rise against us without reaching us, the terror of the Lord shall fall upon them." Eclipses disturb them very much; for the Jews doubt not but they presage some great calamity, and therefore they fast and pray that the mischief threatened^o, may fall upon the head of their enemies.

§ 15. The deliverance obtained by Esther, when the destruction of the Jews was resolved upon, and the massacre going to begin, gives occasion for another solemn feast called *Purim*. They begin it with a fast which they religiously observe one day. In the morning they give the poor alms

^o Buxtorf. in *Synagoga*, cap. 17. p. 336. Basnage's history of the Jews, book 5. chap. 14. p. m. 452.

alms necessary to buy wherewithal that they may be merry in the evening, and commonly send them dishes from their table. That they may make the better cheer, they collect the half shekel formerly paid for the temple, and divide the contribution money among the pilgrims to Jerusalem, where they love to go and be buried, to avoid the trouble of a long journey at the day of the resurrection, and that they may be nearer at hand to the valley of Jehoshaphat, which they imagine will be the place of the general judgment. In the evening they go to the synagogue to hear the book of Esther read, and afterwards explained by the minister or Chazan. This book must not be printed, but written upon vellum with sacred ink: The reader may sit down, whereas he always stands when he reads the law. Having opened the volume, he makes three prayers to give thanks to God for calling them to this ceremony; for delivering them and continuing them alive to this day. Afterwards he reads the whole history of Haman and ^p Esther. There are five places in which he raises his voice so high as to fright women and children. He is obliged to read the names of Haman's ten sons in one breath; and when the name of this persecutor is pronounced, they make a terrible noise in the synagogue; some drum by their feet and hands, and the children have mallets and other instruments to make a noise with. The reading is concluded with curses against Haman and Zeresh his wife, and with the praises of God who hath preserved his people. They

They depart from the synagogue to their entertainment. Next morning they return to hear once more the history of Esther, with *Exod. xvii. Then came Amalek and fought against Israel.* Then begins a general debauch. It is so great a crime to work on that day, that a man who in it sowed flax, never saw the least blade appear. They drink to great excess; The men dress themselves in womens clothes, in spite of the law that forbids it: They dance and continue the debauch for two days together. In some places they have a custom to hang a man in effigy representing Haman: The Christians supposing this done in contempt of the history of the gospel, the emperor Theodosius the Younger forbade the celebration of the feast. The best warrant they have for this feast of Purim, (a Persian word signifying lots) is *Esther, ix. 28.* But the modern Jews have added many superstitious ceremonies without ground, and debaucheries full of profaneness. They sometimes celebrate the feast twice in Bissextile years, by reason of the intercalation made on February 24: For they had rather keep two rejoicings than want one. When this happens, they call the one the *Little*, and the other the *Great Purim*.

§ 16. At this day the Jews observe many other feasts and fasts not appointed by Moses: They celebrate a fast in June, because the tables of the law which Moses brought from mount Sinai, as they reckon, were then broken. They have another in July, because of the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, and a great while after by Titus. On the first of September they sound a trumpet, as a signal of joy that Isaac was not sacrificed;

ficed; and thus there is a complication of feasts on that day. On the third of Tisri they fast because Gedaliah the son of Ahikam was killed, Jer. xli. the only person left to support the remnant of Israel. On the twenty-first day of that month they have the feast of branches, in memory of the taking of Jericho. They have also this month, the feast of the Collection made to supply the expences of the sacrifices. The tenth of December they fast on account of the first siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar: In the evening, when the usual prayers are done, they sit upon the ground and read the lamentations of Jeremiah, and they repeat it again next morning with many other lamentations. On the twenty-fifth day of November they solemnize the dedication of the altar made by the Maccabees. They have a feast of commemoration which continues eight days, beginning at the twenty-fifth of Chisleu, which answers to our December, wherein they light a lamp the first evening, two the second, and so on till they come to the eighth^a, in remembrance of a victory, obtained by the Maccabees over the Greeks. Buxtorf^r mentions some other fasts, as on the tenth of April for the death of Eli with his two sons, and the taking of the ark by the Philistines; and on the 28th day of that month for the death of Samuel. Leo de Modena, a Venetian Rabbi, distinguishes^t fasts commanded and voluntary; even in the latter they abstain from meat from evening to evening with austerity. There

^a Leo de Modena, *Ceremonies of the Jews*, part. 3. chap. 9. p. 156.

^r In *Synagoga Judaica*, cap. 25. p. 391. ^t *Ceremonies of the Jews*, part. 3. cap. 8. p. 150.

There is no end of it when people leave the commands of God, and observe uninstituted superstitions.

§ 17. But I proceed to consider their public and private prayers: The Jews are obliged to rise by break of day: The wife must awake her husband: The father of the family is to take care to call up his children, because they must say their prayers the very moment the sun appears in the horizon. They take a reason for this from the example of Ruth, who went early to glean, and from David, who says, Psal. lxxii. 5. *they shall fear thee with the sun.* They conceive this to be the most favourable time when God hears the prayers of those that call on him, because then the evil angels are silent and do not disturb him. However, the law is not always rigorously observed, for the casuists allow the sun three hours for his levee, in which time they are permitted to make their first prayers. As they rise they ought to be sorrowful because of the destruction of the temple. It is a piece of devotion to shed tears every morning, because God gathers them into his bottles, and uses them to expunge out of his book all the evils he had resolved against the saints. They are superstitious in dressing themselves; but especially they must never be naked in their chamber, nor flatter themselves that the darkness of the night conceals their nakedness^t. One of their first cares is to discharge their bowels: It would be a crime to pray or speak before the Lord before the inward parts were cleansed; and one of the reasons

reasons why God gave R. Sira so long a life, was that he never pronounced the name of God in a filthy place. For the same cause they wash their face and hands before they say their prayers. They take their Taled (which shall be afterwards described) and must go to the synagogue with the same zeal as if they were mounting the breach of a besieged garrison; for David remembered, *that he walked to the house of God in company as to a strong city.* God enters the synagogue as soon as it is opened, and if he finds no body there, he is provoked, and says with Isaiah, *wherefore when I came was there no man? When I called was there none to answer?* They bow themselves as they enter towards the chest which contains the law, saying, *How beautiful are thy tabernacles, O Jacob?* Some put a vail over their head; they read the prayers, and such as cannot read, answer to the prayers of others Amen. The eighteen benedictions of Ezra, as they are called, would have been inserted with the rest of his writings into the sacred canon, if he had dictated them as a perpetual rule for the service of God; but as superstition did increase, so these uninstituted pieces of worship began to be imposed. Private persons are obliged daily to repeat a hundred benedictions, some of them pleasant enough; for they praise God for giving the cock a quality of distinguishing night and day, and awakening the Jews every morning. Their private prayers are very long and full of repetitions; for to this day they have not amended the fault of the long prayers and battologies which our Lord objected to the Pharisees. They pray commonly with their heads stooping to the ground; but

but in extraordinary humiliations they prostrate themselves, extending their hands and feet, and sending out vehement cries. They think these prayers supply the place of sacrifices, abolished by the overthrow of the temple and altar. They give them the same name, and say they had the same efficacy, but reckon the public prayers most effectual.

The minister supposing the people have repeated their prayers, begins the service of the day with a prayer called *Kadish*; because they desire God to sanctify his name, saying, "O God, let thy name be magnified and sanctified through the world, which thou hast created according to thy good pleasure; let thy kingdom reign, the redemption flourish, and the Messiah come quickly." This is the most ancient prayer of all that the Jews have preserved; it is read in the Chaldee tongue, and supposed to have been made soon after their return from Babylon, and is called an *Anthem*. After this, they commonly repeat the decalogue; but the doctors say, they have been obliged to lay aside this custom, because the Hereticks or Christians say, that God only gave these ten commands as a standing law on mount Sinai, other statutes being changeable. At present they only read some passages in Deuteronomy, called *Schemach*^u, because they begin with these words, *Hear, O Israel*. They not only find an abstract of their faith in them, so as he who repeats them becomes truly a Jew; but moreover, they discover a great mystery in these words, Deut. vi. 4. *The Lord our God*

^u Maimonides Sepher Tephiloth. Ordo precum apud Vitrinam, p. 2073. Isaac Abendana of the policy of the Jews, chap. 4. of their prayers.

God is one Lord, compared with these of the prophet Zach. xiv. 9. *And the Lord shall be King over all the earth ; in that day there shall be one Lord, and his name one ;* because these two texts put together, prove that all nations in the world shall be one day subject to God and his people : But they should rather see the days of our Messiah in them, when all nations shall be subject to him, and adore his blessed name. The reading of the *Schemach* being ended, all the assembly rise, and pray in a low voice standing ; the minister gives the example, and they continue in that posture till the secret be finished : Then every one makes three steps backwards of reverence, and the minister repeats the eighteen prayers, whereof the three first contain the praises of God ; the necessities of the church, and of particulars are included in the twelve next ; and in the three last, they make a confession to God of their vileness and unworthiness. Those that have repeated them before the minister came, hear them reverently, and answer amen. At the third blessing they are allowed to resume their place, that is, to advance three steps ; and when they come to the prayer called *Modin*, they must bow themselves a little. The service concludes with the anthem, as it began, and the minister gives the blessing to the people, who retire, saying, " Lord, guide me in thy righteousness, and prepare the way before me, because of mine enemies." This service is performed every day ; they begin a new one in the afternoon, and another at night. Thus the exercises are determined in the synagogues to matins, noons and vespers : Whether the church of Rome imitates them

them or not, I shall not determine; only the prayers, and public sacred offices of both Jews and Papists, are in a tongue not known by the vulgar; these of the former in Hebrew, and of the latter in Latin. Thus, when righteousness and piety cools, zeal for ceremonies becomes fervent.

§ 18. The Jewish superstition further appears in their Tefilim and Taled. To understand their practice in this matter, we may observe, that formerly they wore clothes of four lappets^{*}, at each of which hung a tuft, which they called *Zizit*, by which they distinguish themselves from other people. But as this rendered them very ridiculous, and drew the rabble upon them, they have been wiser than the monks, who still retain their foolish garbs; for the Jews comply with the customs of the countries wherein they live. However, they preserve under their clothes a kind of square frock, with the pendants or tassels fastened to it, which they call *Arban Caufod*, in remembrance of the commands of the Lord, which they found on Num. xv. 38,—40. When they are at the synagogue, they take a square veil, with strings and tufts which they call the *taled* or cloak. Some twist it round the neck, others cover the head with it: The last custom is the more general. Afterwards they put on the frontlets or the *Tefilim*, as much as to say, *the instruments of prayer*, because they use them in their devotions. Their rites about these being a little odd, I shall describe them in the words of a learned Rabbi, who was obstinate in Judaism all his life long[†].

“ They

^{*} Leo de Modena's Customs and Ceremonies of the Jews, part I. chap. 5. p. 18. [†] Idem. ibidem, p. 38. and seq. cap. 11.

“ They take, says he, two pieces of parchment, and with a great deal of exactness write upon each of them, these four passages of scripture in square letters, with ink made on purpose. The first is from Deut. vi. 4. Hear O Israel, &c. the second in chap. xi. 13. And it shall come to pass, if you shall hearken diligently unto my commands which I command you this day, &c. The third out of Exod. xiii. 1. Sanctify unto me all the first-born, &c. The fourth out of ver. 11. of the same chapter, And it shall be, when the Lord shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanites, &c. These parchments they wrap up in a black piece of calf’s leather; that is, they put all these scriptures together into one roll, made into one point, which they fasten upon a little square piece of the hardest part; from whence there comes a thong of the same leather, of an inch broad, and a yard and a half long or thereby. This they put upon the brawny part of their left arm; and when they have tied a little knot upon the thong, like the Hebrew letter Jod, they wrap it round their arm and hand, down to the middle finger; and this they call Tefila Sceliad, that is, the Tefila of the hand. In making the other, they cut the above-mentioned texts of scripture into four pieces, every one by itself, and joining them together, they make a square of the letter Schin at the top; and this they put upon a square hard piece of leather like the other; from which come two thongs as in the former. They put this square upon the midst of the forehead, and are tied behind with a knot in the shape of a Daleth, and the remaining part of them hangs down before upon their breast.

This

This they call Tefila Scelrose, that is, the Taffila of the head. These are the frontlets which they put on with their Taled commonly in the morning, only there are some more devout than the rest, that put them on at the afternoon prayers too; but they are but few, only the chanter always put on his Taled."

These are so sacred, that they fancy God wears them; for they tell, That God promising to shew Moses his hinder parts, shewed him the knot which fastened the Tefilim of the head^a. Perhaps they meant only by these expressions to give a high notion of the origin and excellency of their Tefilim; but it is an indecent and irreverent way of speaking. The superstition for these Phylacteries is considerably increased; they look on them as charms to fright away the devil^a, and preserve them from all evil. They swear by touching them; and the better to authorise such oaths, they introduce God swearing in the same manner. The parchment on which they are wrote must be taken from the skin of a clean beast. It becomes profane if a Christian dresses it, but it receives a degree of excellency, when it has been destined for this use, and when it was said in preparing it, "I design this for making the Tefilim;" the least hole or defect makes it useless. They write them with great circumspection, and first fasten the Tefilim of the hand, and afterwards that of the head; but cannot do either, till they have pronounced the blessing, saying, "Blessed be thou our Lord and our God, the King of the earth."

^a Bartolocci Bibl. Rabbinica. t. I. p. 537. ^b Tractatus Talmudicus de Sabbato, cap. 2. vide Hornbeck contra Judæos, p. 495.

earth." After which it is not lawful to speak to any body; yea, they may pass by their master or Rabbi, without saluting him, till the Tephilin are taken off. When they lay them aside, they put them in a bag, which thereby becomes sacred; women and slaves are not obliged to wear them; because they cannot command their own time: It is not lawful to take them, till a man has covered his nakedness, nor to wear them in churchyards, nor to carry a burden on their heads when they have them on. As to the origin of these Tephilin, I know the modern Jews found their practice upon Num. xv. 37,—40. Deut. vi. 8. Exod. xiii. 9,—16. but by these texts the Lord only points out the duty of continually remembering the law, in order to practise, without which outward rites are vain. The superstition of the Jews about them seems to have been introduced by the Pharisees, a little before our Saviour's days; for he justly reproveth them, *That they made broad their phylacteries, and enlarged the borders of their garments*, Matth. xxiii. 5. They abused this ordinance to superstition and hypocrisy^b; and, as is usual with rites of that kind, when not reformed, they increase by progress of time: But we Christians being delivered by the gospel liberty from the ceremonial law, as a yoke of bondage, which neither we, nor our fathers were able to bear, are not only free from that law, but from other superstitious usages the modern Jews have superadded to it; and if they were so happy as to believe in Jesus our blessed Redeemer, and receive the

^b Ainsworth on Num. xv. 39.

the gospel, they might partake of the same privileges: But I proceed to other rites of theirs.

§ 19. In ancient times the Jews had commonly every one their own table. Elkanah gave to Hannah a worthy portion, 1 Sam. i. 5. David having sacrificed after bringing the ark to mount Zion, gave to every one of the people a cake of bread, a good piece of flesh and a flagon of wine, 2 Sam. vi. 19. But this custom hath now ceased, and they eat at present at the same table as the Christians. They may not eat of any animals, but such only as part the hoof and chew the cud; as, oxen and sheep, but not conies, hares nor swine; nor any fish which has not scales nor fins, nor birds of prey, nor reptiles, as more fully expressed, Lev. xi. For this reason they eat nothing that is dressed by any other people, nor use any of their kitchen-utensils*, for fear they should have had in them any of these prohibited meats; nor do they use other people's knives. They do not eat the fat of beef, lamb or goat, according to Lev. lii. 17. Nor do they eat of the sinew of the thigh, which they reckon forbidden by Genesis xxxii. 32. Hence, in some parts of Italy and Germany, they do not eat the hinder quarters. They may not eat the blood of any beast or fowl, or so much as an egg, which has the least thread of blood in it. The throat of any beast they kill must be cut with a great many nice circumstances. They lay their meat in salt one hour before they boil it, that it may be quite cleansed from the blood. They may not eat flesh and cheese, or
any

* Leo de Modena, Ceremonies of the Jews, part 2. chap. 7.—10.

any thing made of milk, at the same meal, which they ground by tradition upon Exod. xxii. 19. *Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.* They use no cheese but what they see prepared, and use different knives, one for their meat and another for their cheese. When they have kneaded their bread, (that is to say, when they have made a lump of dough as big as forty eggs) they first take a little cake out of it, as is commanded, Num. xv. *Ye shall offer up a cake of the first of your dough for an heave-offering.* This cake used formerly to be given to the priest, but now they throw it into the fire, and let it lie till it is quite burnt up: And this is one of the three precepts which women are to observe, because for the most part it is their business to bake bread.

They fast very often; for, besides the public fasts, which we have already^d discoursed of, they have private ones; but never in March, because this being the time when the people came out of Egypt, the same should be entirely consecrated to gratitude and joy: However some violate this rule. Our Saviour insinuates that the Pharisees fasted twice in the week, Luke xviii. 12. which custom is kept up by the German Jews, fasting on Monday and Thursday, though they do it only after the feasts of the passover and tabernacles, being afraid that in these festivals they have offended God by their too great jollities. Private persons exceedingly multiply fasts upon several occasions; as, if they desire a happy dream; for they are much given to observe dreams; or,

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^d See page 203.

if the interpretation thereof affrights them, if they have a particular distemper, if they undertake a dangerous voyage, if prisoners, or in the like distreis, they fast to obtain deliverance; the son fasts for his father's death; the magicians to invoke dæmons from hell: From whence some of the doctors infer, "That if a necromancer obtains such a vision by his abstinence, by a stronger reason they may procure the descent of the holy spirit." As to the severity of their abstinence, they lie on a bed harder and every way coarser than ordinary; they eat none till the next day at even, and then they pray that God may accept their abstinence instead of a sacrifice*. If the fast continue many days, they use the same rules for most part as the Papists: Flesh is forbidden; but they satisfy themselves with some garden stuff, making up their wants with eggs, which being of a globular figure, are the image of an afflicted man. They celebrate no marriages while they fast, nor shave, nor powder, nor bath themselves; but sometimes throw ashes upon their heads. If the church of Rome have their abstinences on the vigils of great feasts, the Jews have more rigorous ones in the vigils of new moons, and look on their fastings as very meritorious, and as substitute in the room of the old sacrifices: Though indeed, they are only bodily exercise, which profits little. God has not required them, and what he does not command, he will not accept.

§ 20. The charity of the Jews is very remarkable; for though they have been exposed to very great

* Leo de Modena, *Ceremonies and Customs of the Jews*, part 2. chap. 8. p. 155, 156.

great misfortunes, they still relieve all their own poor. On the Fridays, and on the eve of the festivals, rich men give considerably to those who come to them. Besides the Parnassim or Nemunim, whose office it is to take care of the poor, collect and send to those who are ashamed to beg, and to sick persons, or widows who do not go abroad; at the door of the synagogue they have a box, into which offerings are put: And though they do not touch money on the Sabbath, yet if there be any extraordinary object of charity; as, if one would redeem one of his family who is a slave, or have a daughter to marry and nothing to give her, the overseer of the synagogue calls every one, saying, "God bless thee, who will contribute to this design;" and what they promise on the Sabbath, they perform on the week thereafter. In the great cities they have fraternities or companies for works of charity; as, to take care of the sick, and of the burial of the dead. If a poor man has any pressing necessities which exceeds the abilities of the town, he makes his application to the principal Rabbins, who give him a certificate to the brethren in other places for assistance. They oblige the less charitable to give the tenth part of their goods, others to give the fifth penny, and those that refuse charity may be chastised by the judges. Over and above all these charities given to private persons, in what part of the world soever the Jews are, they send alms yearly to Jerusalem, for maintenance of the poor there and in other places

of Judea. But they are as hard-hearted to strangers as charitable to the poor of their own nation; for the Talmudists are persuaded, that none are allowed by the law to participate of their charity, except the proselytes of righteousness: And that which spoils all their alms, is their vain opinion of their efficacy and merit; which our Lord reproves, telling them, Matth. vi. 1, 2. that they *give alms to be seen of men.*

§ 21. The Jews have their Votaries and Saints; of whom they make three different orders. The first are those who entirely renouncing society, go and live in deserts, clothing themselves with camels hair, eating leaves of trees, and things furnished by the earth without tillage. They pretend such have their mind purified, by removal from the world, and continual meditation; so as their thoughts make them worthy of the commerce of angels. But in the meantime they own^s, that though this was the state of the prophets, such saints are now very rare, since God has removed his presence from the Holy Land, and these who thus fly from the world to solitudes, expose their mind and body to violent distempers, which makes them desire death from impatience under their miseries. In this point the Jews speak more justly than some Christians, who pretend to imitate the life of Enoch, of Elias, or of John the Baptist, without receiving their spirit, or being useful in the world, as they were. In the second rank the Jews place the Chasidæansⁿ, who they conceive have always God present with them in every

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^s Liber Cosri, part 3. p. 154.ⁿ Ibid p. 169.

every place, and do nothing that can offend him: If they happen to be in the Holy Land, they carry their sanctity to such a perfection as to come near that of the prophets: They hear the *Daughter of the Voice*, but receive all this from the divine goodness. The last order of their saints is inferior to any of the former.

§ 22. The Jews come under several vows and oaths: Particularly we find in the gospel, that though it be a moral duty to honour our parents, which includes the duty of comforting and relieving them in their straits; yet they invented a way to elude this precept, Matth. xv. 4,--7. Mark vii. 10,--14. by dedicating their goods to pretended pious uses. Such a rash vow, done in anger, to elude their giving any relief to their necessitous parents, by calling their goods *Corban*, or, *Consecrated to the treasure of the temple*, was very justly reprov'd by our Lord in the Pharisees: Nevertheless their successors the Talmudists approve it. Their vows turn sometimes upon abstinence from marriage, though it is far more rare among the Jewish maids to vow virginity than among those of the church of Rome, who are often fettered in nunneries against their inclinations. If an enraged husband say to his wife, "Thou art as my mother," he is not allowed any more to cohabit with her. Wives when provok'd do some times the same; but their husbands have power to make their resolutions null: And at present these vows are little approved, being curses mingled with religion; for though it be a piece of devotion to accomplish them, yet many distinctions are allowed.

Leo de Modena, a Venetian Rabbi, tells us¹, that the Jews hold by tradition, "That when any man or woman has made a vow or oath, be it what it will, provided the breaking of it be not a prejudice to a third person, and has upon good reason repented of it, a Rabbin of authority, or three other persons not dignified, may loose it. He that would have it dispensed with goes to this Rabbin, or those other three persons; and they having heard his reason why he alters his mind, and approving of it, say to him three times, "Be thou absolved from this vow," &c. And from that time he remains free." Philo the Jew, who condemned oaths made in the name of God, as profane and contrary to religion, allowed swearing by the universe, by the stars, by the sun, by the earth, by their parents, by their head and by heaven. But this is contrary to the law of God in the Old Testament, Deut. vi. 13. x. 20. Isa. xlv. 23. xlviii. 1. lxv. 16. Jer. iv. 2. xii. 16. and therefore the practice is justly condemned by our Lord in the gospel, Matth. v. 37. For creatures can neither be witnesses to our sincerity, nor judge us if we act contrary thereto, and therefore should not be invoked in oaths. An oath being an act of worship, ought not to be conceived but in the name of the living God, who is our witness and judge; and ought not to be made rashly, but when necessity requireth, and when the same is imposed by a lawful judge. Nor are we to elude the obligation of oaths by subtle distinctions, nor to expect dispensations from them by human authority, as the Jews frequently do.

§ 23. As

¹ Customs of the Jews, part 2. chap. 5. p. m. 86.

§ 23. As every society hath the privilege of expelling from its body those who violate the laws of its constitution, and are a dishonour to it; so the Jews have the same. Their ecclesiastical punishments began with private censure, which was rendered public if the person culpable did not repent. To this did succeed excommunication: Of which Bartolocci^k distinguishes three degrees; 1. Niddui, which continued thirty days; during which no body must come near the excommunicated person, nor even the man approach to his wife. 2. Cherem or Anathema, by which a man is expelled out of the synagogue with great imprecations. 3. Schammata, published with the sound of four hundred trumpets, (but this is an hyperbolical way of speaking, usual among Talmudical writers) and excluded from all hope of returning to the synagogue. One of the principal causes of excommunication is the pronouncing the name of God in a profane manner; for Huna one day hearing a man take the name of God in vain, excommunicated him, but soon took off the sentence. This high censure is also used for civil causes; for most of the twenty-four grounds enumerated by Maimonides^l turn upon such trespasses: As, when he curses a man for keeping a dog that bites and tears travellers; when one lends a ladder half-broken, unless he repaired the damage that might happen; when a man doth not make trial of a knife before he kills with it; when he speaks ill of a doctor that is dead, &c. This sentence when pronounced by the Jews abounds with superstition

^k Bibl. Rabbinica, tit. XII. p. 414. Buxtorfii Lexicon Talmudicum & Rabbinicum, edit. 1639. p. 827, 828. ^l De studio legis cap. 6. § 13.

tion and cruelty: "For by the decrees of the cities, and commandment of the saints", they excommunicate, anathematise, and with many execrations curse N, by the book of the law which he touches, by the ninety-three precepts which that book contains, by the curse Joshua pronounced against Jericho, that Elisha uttered against the children that mocked him, whom the bears devoured, and by that on Gehazi when he became a leper." They introduce into this form I know not how many barbarous names, which they mingle with those of God and of angels, diversified several ways; as, Metraton Sandalipon, and the like. They curse him by heaven, by earth, by the seraphims, by the orbs, by the holy animals. Their imprecations are very horrible: as, "That his ruin may be speedy; that the creatures may become his enemies; that a whirlwind may crush him; that a fever and consumption (and I know not how many other diseases) may seize him". When I read these things, I cannot conceive what manner of men they are who take upon them to pronounce such bitter curses, instead of lamenting the loss of their brother. In order to prevent his impenitence, they scourge the criminal. Thus our Lord foretold to his disciples, that they will *cast you out of the synagogues, and scourge you*, John xvi. 2. Marth. x. 17. The apostle Paul tells us, 2 Cor. xi. 24, 25. *that of the Jews he five times received forty stripes save one, thrice was he beaten with rods.* As a Roman citizen he could not

^m De studio legis cap 6 p. 532. See Basnage's History of the Jews, book 5. chap 18. p. m. 466. ⁿ Vide formam Judaicæ excommunicationis apud C. Vorstium, in notis ad Fike R. Eliezer, p. m. 226,—230.

not be scourged by the civil magistrate, this being against the Porcian law^o; but as he was a Jew, a deserter of his religion, the Rabbies, who caught him teaching in the synagogue, unmercifully scourged him^p. He that was condemned to the lash was fastened to a high pillar, and they chose one to scourge him who was neither weak nor cowardly. The Chazan frequently discharged this office. He struck first three blows upon the heart, and three upon each shoulder; and while they were scourging the criminal, the president read some texts of scripture; the second judge reckoned the blows, and the third exhorted the executioner to his duty. The reading was to end with the blows, and both were to keep pace together^q.

Excommunication deprived the person under that sentence of partaking of the sacraments, for it debarred him even from entrance into the tabernacle, or into the temple; and afterwards, when these were destroyed, from access into the synagogue. This position hath been at large vindicated by our learned countryman Mr. George Gillespie^r, to whom I leave the argument. The Rabbies go further and tell, "that the excommunicated person never appears again, because death carries him off by a kind of miracle. The Cherem enters into the man by 248 members, and makes terrible mischief. He is deprived of all society, scarce his wife or children must come near him; but all others are obliged to keep at two yards distance.

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^o Cicero in Verrem, lib. 5. operum p. m. 378, 379. ^p Hammond in 2 Cor. xi. 24. ^q Abendana of the Ecclesiastical and civil policy of the Jews, chap. 1. ^r Aaron's rod blossoming, chap. 9. & passim.

If he has a dead body in the house, no body must help him to bury it; and if he dies himself, they do not lament him, but even pour ignominy upon his grave. The history of Uriel Acosta is a standing evidence of this severity. He was born in Portugal of a Jewish family that had embraced Popery; but he being educated in the study of the law, began to recover some esteem for the Jewish religion, though being afraid of persecution by the inquisition, in case he should vent his principles, he thought fit to transport his family from Portugal to Amsterdam. When he came to reside there, he observed several defects in the synagogue, where the teachers were all Pharisees and Traditionaries: But no sooner opened he his mouth against their faults, than they excommunicated him. His brethren would not speak with him, the children threw dirt at him, and attacked him even in his house. Tired with these insults, he resolved to be reconciled to them; which when he offered to do, they forced him to ascend the desk in the synagogue, and there to make a confession of his sins. They stripped him in a corner to the waist, and unmercifully gave him thirty-nine stripes. This being done, he was obliged to lie prostrate on the ground at the door, where all that came out passed over his body, children making a game of it. This abominable treatment to a man of birth, made him so desperate, as he resolved to kill his own brother or nephew who had been his cruel enemies. Meeting with one of them, he fired a pistol at him as he passed along the street, and at the same time with another pistol he shot himself dead. He hath
printed

printed an account of these adventures, except the last, where he shews how he was provoked by the Rabbies, and spares not the magistrates who give liberty to those of a tolerated religion to practise such indignities. Among the Jews sometimes private persons pronounce a sentence of excommunication; but it is more formidable when it is done by the synagogue, or three Rabbies. Nay, they excommunicate even beasts, and tell it hath its effect upon dogs. The same court which inflicts the sentence hath power of absolution, which is very simple, declaring that the sinner is loosed from the excommunication.

§ 24. The Jews are obliged to marry, because God's precept to the first man, *Increase and multiply*, still continues in force. Hence they say, "Wo to the man that continues in a house without a wife." But they come not under the law till they are twenty years of age; then they must marry, otherwise they sin against God and his ordinance, they become murderers, they destroy the image of the first man, and cause the holy Spirit to withdraw from Israel. It is a question in the Talmud, "Who is he that prostitutes his daughter?" And the answer is, "The father that keeps her too long at home, or marries her to an old man." The Jews generally do not wait till twenty years; they make contracts between their children betimes, and execute them as soon as possible. The Talmudists say, the king could not marry above eighteen wives; but the ancient kings were

[Urielis Acostæ exemplar vitæ humanæ, p. 346. ad calcem Philippi a Limborch Collat. cum Judæo.] [Leo de Modena, Ceremonies of the Jews, part 4. chap. 2. p. 165.]

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[Urielis Acoftæ examplar vitæ humanæ, p. 346. ad calcem Philippi a Limborch Collat. cum Judæo. * Leo de Modena, Ceremonies of the Jews, part 4. chap. 2. p. 165.

were not acquainted with these limitations. They own that the high-priest could have but one wife, not a widow, but a virgin, according to Lev. xxi. 13, 14. But as to other persons, they permit polygamy. Thus speaks Leo de Modena the Venetian Rabbi, "Every Jew may have as many wives as he pleases, as appears from several passages in scripture. The eastern Jews make use of this liberty, but it is not suffered among the Germans; and it is very rarely practised in Italy; and then only when a man has lived a great many years with his first wife, and has not been able to have any children by her." But this is contrary to the primary institution of marriage, Gen. ii. 24. *Therefore shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave unto his wife (not to his wives) and they shall be one flesh.* Which is confirmed by the prophet Malachi, ii. 15. *And did not he make one? therefore take heed to your spirit, and let none deal treacherously with the wife of his youth.* Polygamy seems also forbidden, Lev. xviii. 18. *Neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister, to vex her, to uncover her nakedness, beside the other, in her lifetime.* The word sister may be understood of any other woman, as brother is used of any other man, Gen. xix. 7. And then the law here forbids to take any more wives than one, which the reason following *to vex her*, does confirm*. Nor can it be justly alledged that this is only a law against incest; for the laws against incest are from the sixth verse of this chapter to the eighteenth; but from the eighteenth to the end are laws forbidding other kind of unlawful

* Cereémonies of the Jews, part 4. cap. 2. p. 166. * Ainsworth on Lev. xviii. 18. Horubek contra Judæos, p. 517. & seq.

lawful mixtures. Therefore our Lord, Matth. xix. 4, 5, 6. doth very justly prohibit polygamy, and their arbitrary divorces upon frivolous causes, and reduceth these enormous practices by the primary and fundamental laws given by God concerning marriage at the creation of man. It is true the patriarchs were guilty of polygamy, and the apostate Lamech in the family of Cain, Gen. iv. 19. is the first instance thereof. But we must live by laws, not by examples; and though some temporary laws circumscribed and limited this practice, yet God did never commend nor approve it, being still contrary to the primary institution of marriage.

By the Levitical law¹ it was ordained, That the brother-in-law should marry the sister-in-law, when she was left a widow without children. This custom is almost vanished among the Jews, particularly in the west, where these marriages are not allowed by Christian princes. But there are still some instances thereof in the Holy Land, and particularly in the east among Jews pretending to an exact devotion. Besides there are in the Mishnah², and in the doctors that have commented upon it, several rules upon this subject, which I do not stay upon. The curious may find a large collection upon this and other heads by the learned Mr. Selden³.

The promise of marriage among the Jews is made in the presence of some witnesses saying, "Be thou my wife;" and at the same time the bridegroom

¹ Deut. xxv. 5.—10.

Misnae Liber de re Uxoriz, Commentaria Mal-

monidis & Bartenoræ.

² Misnae Liber de re Uxoriz, Commentaria Mal-

³ Seldenæ uxor Ebraica, lib. 1. cap. 14. p. 67. &

seq.

bridegroom puts a ring upon her finger, but Leo de Modena says^b, the Italian and German Jews commonly omit this custom. The parties continue thus bethrothed a year more or less, as they find convenient, during which time the man may visit his mistress, but not lie with her. All days are not proper for the ceremony of marriage. It cannot be done on the Sabbath, nor on the passover week, nor on that of tabernacles, for fear of violating the feast. They commonly chuse a day when the new moon falls on the Wednesday; because if the husband entertain any suspicion of the bride's virginity, he may bring his complaint before the judges, who are to meet next day. Before the bride is brought to the synagogue, she is sumptuously apparelled, and her hair curled; by which they fancy they imitate God, who performed this service for Eve^c. The ancient Jews crowned the married couple, the husband wearing a crown composed of salt and sulphur. The salt was clear as chrystal, and figures were drawn with sulphur, to mind them to beware of the sin of Sodom, which turned the land to salt and sulphur. Some are of opinion that in this they alluded to these texts, Song iii. 11. Isaiah lxi. 10. The bride was led in pomp to the wedding-house, and placed under a canopy supported by four youths, and adorned with jewels conformable to her quality. The company cries, "Blessed is he that cometh." They sing about them with flambeaus in their hands. The bride makes three turns about her husband, because Jeremiah hath said,

chap.

^b Ceremonies of the Jews, part. 4. chap. 3.

^c Buxtorff Synagoga, cap. 28. p. 406.—409.

^c Buxtorff Synagoga, cap.

chap. xxxi. ver. 22. *The woman shall compass the man*; and the bridegroom makes two turns about her. They throw some grains of wheat on the married couple, crying, *Increase and multiply*, and the relations cast up some pieces of money to the poor to scramble for. The bride takes the right hand, because it is said, Psalm xlv. 9. *Upon thy right hand did stand the Queen*. They put one of these square vests called *Taled*, with the fringes upon it, over the heads of both bridegroom and bride, alluding to Ruth iii. 9. or Ezek. xvi. 8. *Spread thy skirt over thine hand-maid*. The Rabbins of the place, or the chanter of the synagogue, or the nearest relation takes a cup of wine in his hand; and after he has blessed God for having created man and woman, and instituted matrimony, he gives both the bridegroom and the bride some of it to drink. Then the bridegroom puts a ring upon the bride's finger, in the presence of two witnesses^d, who are usually Rabbins, saying, "Lo, thou art my wife, according to the rite of Moses and of Israel." Then they read the writing of the dowries, in which the bridegroom obliges himself, in consideration of the dowry he hath received, to maintain her, live with her, &c. and binds himself to the performance of these things by writing. Then they take another vessel of wine, and sing six other benedictions, which makes seven in all, and gives the new married couple some of the wine to drink, and pour the rest of it on the ground, in token of mirth. Then they give the empty cup into the bridegroom's hands, who

^d Vide Seldenum in uxore Ebraica, lib. 2. cap. 14. de anulo sponsalicio.

who dashes it against the ground and breaks it, to join with their mirth the remembrance of death, which breaks us to pieces like brittle glass. At that instant all the people cry out *Mazal tou, good luck*, and they go away. At night they make a supper for their friends and relations: In some places, these who are invited present the bride with some money: They repeat the seven benedictions said at the wedding, and then the table is removed. It is the care of the Paranympths to lead the married couple to their chamber; and some are of opinion that the Baptist alludes to this custom, John iii. 29. *The friend of the bridegroom standeth and rejoiceth when he heareth his voice.* The Sabbath day following in the morning the married couple go to the synagogue; the bride is accompanied by the women. When they come to read in the Pentateuch they call up the bridegroom to read, who promises very large alms, and all those who are invited do the like. When the prayers are over, the men go home with the bridegroom, and the women with the bride, and take their leave with a great deal of compliment. When the marriage is consummated, the bridegroom must leave his bed, and not come near his wife for a certain time. There are five days in each month in which the wife must advertise her husband, that it is not lawful to touch her, and then he dares not sit near her, nor eat in the same plate, nor drink in the same glass*. Afterwards she must bathe in clean water: And the bath would be invalid if she wore so much as a ring; for she must

* Leo de Modena, Customs of the Jews, part 4. chap. 5 p. 177.

must be washed from head to foot, over head and ears.

§ 25. Adultery was punished by death. Philo the Jew affirms^f, that all nations whose customs were so different from those of his own, agreed with them on this head, not only condemning the adulterer to death, but even licensing the killing of him when caught. It is plain that the law of the twelve tables indemnified him who killed the adulterer in the act; and Justinian authorised the same thing by a law^g, which was long current among the Christians: But that this was the constant authorised practice of all other nations, I am not to determine. When an adulteress confessed her disloyalty, the contract for her portion was broke, and the things she brought being restored, she was driven from her husband's house to be stoned: If she denied the crime, she was led to the eastern gate of the temple, where she was made to drink of the bitter waters. This ceremony was peculiar to the Jews, and indeed a miracle, and therefore deserves to be a little further considered. The Jews tell that when a husband turned jealous of his wife, he chose two witnesses, before whom he forbade her to see such a man, even though he had been a near relation. This prohibition being made authentic by the presence of two witnesses, the wife was not allowed to be alone with such a man as long as one would boil an egg or swallow three^h. For if she be, the husband may expel her from his house, by giving up her portion; though he had learned the matter

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only

^f Philo de Josepho.
cap. 21.

^g Authent. Collatio, tit. 18 cap. 15.

^h Sotah,

only by a bird that flies, that is by an uncertain and light rumour, one witness was enough to convict her. The process was begun before the judge in the place, who sent up the examinations to the Sanhedrim, which must meet at Jerusalem. The rites of the trial by the waters of jealousy may be found in Numbers v. 11,—31. The Rabbins tell that if guilty, scarce had she begun to drink but her veins swelled, her face grew livid, and her eyes started out of her head; upon which they cried "Away with her, lest she pollute the court, for she was like to die." But if the husband died before the end of the process, the woman was dispensed with from drinking, and received her portion. However, this miracle ceased but a few years before the destruction of the temple by the Babylonians. The Rabbins affirm there was such a multitude of debauched women in Judea, and the husbands as bad as their wives, that Jochanan Saccades, then patriarch of the nation, caused the custom to be abolished by the authority of the Sanhedrim.

When the waters of jealousy came to be no more in use, divorces became frequent, and continued to be so among the Jews during the standing of the second temple, and even to this very day. The doctors after the captivity became very loose upon that subject. The law, Deut. xxiv. 1. permitted the divorcing of a wife when any filthy action was found in her, by which it was easy to understand adultery; but because the Hebrew word *debar* signified a word as well as an action, the

the casuists abusing this ambiguity, began to maintain that a word was sufficient to break the matrimonial union, and to give a letter of divorce. But if we look further into the subject, we may find that the same arguments that we have used before against Polygamy¹, do also condemn arbitrary divorces for frivolous causes, these being contrary to the primary institution of marriage, Gen. ii. 24. to the confirmation thereof by Malichi, ii. 15, 16. *Let none deal treacherously against the wife of his youth. For the Lord God of Israel saith, that he hateth putting away:* And therefore our Lord justly condemns such divorces, Matth. xix. 3,—10. *except for fornication or adultery.* Reason rejects them as contrary to the close union between husband and wife, tending to alienate love, and prejudice the interest of children. May a child desert his parents, or may a parent abandon his children for every cause? By no means, much less may a husband put away his wife, between whom though not by nature, yet by divine appointment the relation is nearer, and the bond of union stronger. As to the regulations, Deut. xxiv. 1, —3. these only contain a permission or toleration, a political law whereby Moses suffered divorces in some cases, to prevent the cruelty of the Jews when they turned hard-hearted, and displeased with their wives; *but from the beginning it was not so.*

As to these Jewish customs, Hillel and Schammai had a warm dispute upon this matter as about many others. The latter asserted, that a-

Q² *adultery*

adultery alone dissolved marriage; but the former maintained that it was sufficient if the wife had over-dressed the dinner. Philo, though pretending devotion, embraced Hillel's maxims; and the adulterers being punishable by death, he conceived the letter of divorce signified nothing, unless it extended to other cases. Women took the same liberty, and in their turn divorced the jealous and disagreeable husbands. Thus Salome, sister to Herod the Great, sent a letter of divorce to Costobarus her husband, and married another in his stead. Herodias followed her example to marry the tetrarch. Berenice, sister to Agrippa, did the like, for having obliged Polemon king of Lycia to turn Jew to obtain her in marriage, she afterwards divorced him. The famous Akiba, in the reign of the emperor Hadrian carried the liberty further, and determined that when a man found a woman more handsome and agreeable, it was lawful to leave his wife who had not these advantages, which is very loose morality. But divorces have become much more unfrequent among the Jews since their dispersion among the nations which allow not the dissolution of the marriage knot for light and frivolous causes. Nevertheless there are too many of them at this day. A jealous husband at first forbids his wife to see the man that gives him umbrage: If she continues to converse with him, and the evidence is manifest, the Rabbins order him to forsake her, even though he be unwilling: Yea, the husband hath liberty to make complaints upon cases less momentous than adultery, according to Hillel's tradition which is still in force: But Leo de Modena says,

says¹, "The Rabbins have annexed many formalities both in the writing and delivering a bill of divorce, on purpose that before they can have it done, they may come to themselves and be reconciled. The manner of it is, a notary is sent for, before one or more of the Rabbins, the husband orders him to write a bill of divorce (which they call *Ghett.*) It must be done upon ruled parchment in square letters, and there must neither be more nor fewer than a dozen lines with exquisite nicety. Neither the writer, the Rabbins, nor the witnesses must be a-kin to the parties or to one another, and none of them who are present, must afterwards marry the woman that's divorced. The substance of the writing is thus, "On such a day, month and year, *I. A. B.* do of my own accord, divorce, put away, and give free liberty to thee *N.* who was heretofore my wife, to marry whom thou wilt, &c." The Rabbin examines the husband as to his willingness to do thus. Ten persons must be present at least, besides two witnesses who subscribe the instrument, and there must be two other witnesses at the delivery of it. The Rabbin commands the woman to open her hands, and then to bring them near to one another to receive the instrument, for fear it should fall to the ground, and the husband being examined over again, gives her the piece of parchment, and says, "See, there is thy divorce, be thou parted from me, and free to marry any one whatsoever." The woman takes the writing and gives it to the Rabbin, who reads it a second time, then they

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are

¹ Ceremonies of the Jews, part 4. chap. 6. p. 161.

are free. The Rabbin then acquaints the woman that she is not to marry again for the space of ninety days or three months, for fear she should be with child. From this time and forwards, this man and this woman must not be in the same place together alone, and each of them may marry again."

§ 26. As to the Jews purity and manner of washing, Moses hath laid down several laws concerning it, Leviticus xi,—xvi. But the Rabbins have multiplied them, and thereby render their law an intolerable burden. The sixth volume of the Mishnah is taken up in regulating cases of conscience relating to this subject. Of all creatures, man only can defile and be defiled while he lives: Death is the fountain of impurity, and of all impurities the greatest is that of a dead man. Places are holy in proportion as admittance is forbidden to the dead, lepers or defiled persons. Thus Judea is counted by them the holiest of all lands, the walled cities there are still more pure, because lepers cannot enter them; the mountain upon which the temple was built was yet more holy, because impure persons were excluded from it; the holy place and the altar were so in proportion. They regulate particularly what relates to vessels from whence water is drawn, and in which they prepare their food^m, being not only cautious that they have not belonged to strangers, for fear they have dressed forbidden meats in them, but they carry their scruples much further, for a thousand circumstances renders the vessels, the staves and

^m Vide Buxtorfi Synagogam, cap. 26 & 27.

and cast unclean. I have already noticed their rules concerning food and eating^a. There are laws to regulate their clothes: They must not wear any garment that is mixed of linen and woollen, according to Leviticus xix. 19. Deut. xxii. 11. Hence they must not sew a woollen garment with linen thread, nor on the contrary. A man may not wear a woman's garment, nor the woman that which pertains to a man, Deut. xxii. 5. They are unwilling to imitate any other nation in their habit, unless their own make them seem very ridiculous, and generally affect the long garment or gown. I have already discoursed of their Frontlets and Teffilim^b. It is very nice. Leo de Modena observes^c, that some of them in their dressing in the morning put on the right stocking and the right shoe, first without tying it, then afterwards put on the left and so return to the right, that they may begin and end with the right side, which they account to be the most fortunate. They hold it unbecoming for a man to dress himself without putting on a girdle, or something that may divide the lower part of the body from the upper. Their clothes or their purse becomes impure when the strings are broken, or a piece of cloth is sewed to it; a shoe whose latchet is torn or unsewed is unclean; but their regulations are endless. They are very modest in their evacuations, and treat particularly of this matter from Deut. xxii. 12, 13: they must accustom themselves to do it in the morning. When any finds a motion this way, he must not retain

^a See p. 219, 214. ^b See p. 208,—211. ^c Customs and Ceremonies of the Jews, part. I. chap 5: p. m. 19.

retain it unless he render himself unclean*. After they have done, they must wash their hands and give praise to God, acknowledging his great goodness and wisdom, that hath made man in so wonderful a manner, and so preserves him. They wash their hands and face' every morning as soon as they are up, and take special care that they neither touch bread nor any thing that is eatable, a book nor any holy thing before they have done it. Of the quality of the water, and the manner of washing, the Rabbins have enjoined nice circumstances; and they say the water must not be cast upon the ground, nor may they tread upon it, because they account it an unclean thing. While they are wiping their hands and face, they say a benediction. They wash again when they are to sit at table or eat bread; but when they are to eat things sacred, immersion is necessary.

The Jews may by no means sow two sorts of seed together, as wheat and barley, or the like, this being prohibited by Lev. xix. 19. They have added, "that they must not graft any trees; as nuts, peaches, apples, oranges; nor have them on their grounds": Though they may eat the fruit of them. They may not let their cattle gender with a diverse kind: Nor may they yoke an ox and an ass together in a plough, Deut. xxii. 10. Some of these statutes they still pretend to observe; though a greater part of the ceremonial law, as, the rules concerning the priests and Levites, (their genealogies being lost) the laws concerning sacrifices

* Customs and Ceremonies of the Jews, part 1. chap. 6. † Ibid. chap. 7, 9. ‡ Leq de Modens, Ceremonies of the Jews, part 1. chap. 13. p. m. 53.

fices, the sabbatic and jubilee years, and several other things, are utterly neglected by them, as peculiar to their rest in the Holy Land; or rather as a testimony that the end of these things is accomplished by the Messiah's coming. When the Sun of righteousness doth appear, the shadows flee away.

§ 27. They have been generally accused of exacting usury upon Christians and other nations among whom they dwell, though this is contrary to law: And Christians being not aliens to the commonwealth of Israel, nor to the covenant of promise, but the true church of God, ought not to be oppressed. But the Jews refuse the accusation and say^t, "Their nation is obliged, not only by the law of Moses, but also by the oral law, to be exact in their dealings, not to defraud nor to cheat any one, let him be who he will, either Jew or Gentile." Some of the Jews maintain an officious lie to be lawful. Manasseh ben Israel^u says, "an officious lie, which hurts no man, and is profitable to some person, is lawful, if necessity require it." For which he pleads the examples of Abraham and several other great persons recorded in scripture, who by the help of such lies have escaped signal dangers. But every kind of lie is forbidden by the God of truth in his holy word, Psal. iv. 2. v. 9. Prov. vi. 17. xii. 22. xix. 5, 22. xxx. 6. Isa. lix. 4, 14, 15. Jer. v. 31. Hos. iv. 2. And therefore it is the character of the Lord's people, Isa. lxiii. 8. *Surely they are my people, children that will not lie.* The way of God is the way of truth,

^t Leo de Modena, Ceremonies of the Jews, part 2. chap. 5 p. 81.

^u Conciliator in Genesim, quest. 57. p. m. 99.

truth, Psal. cxix. 30, 160. It is a standing rule, *That we must not do evil that good may come of it*: Nor are we to wire-draw divine precepts to our pleasure. We are not to live by examples, but precepts. Whatever may be said for the practice of some great persons on this point, they were not without their own failings, nor is their copy our infallible rule.

§ 28. In the last place I shall conclude this chapter with an account of the ceremonies of the Jews concerning dying persons, funerals and the mourning of relations. They reckon it an extraordinary good work to visit the sick, and assist them in all their necessities. When any one thinks himself a dying, he sends for about ten persons, of which one must be a Rabbin; and in their presence repeats a general confession of his sins, with a prayer to God*. Some of the more ignorant have their sins read over to them in an alphabetical order†. Then he takes the Rabbin's advice as to his important concerns, asks pardon of God, and of all whom he has offended; blesteth his children, or if he be a child, receives a blessing from his parents, and makes his will. The sick person is prayed for in the synagogue under another name, to signify that he hath changed his life. These that continue in the chamber wait for the moment when the soul must separate from the body with great devotion, expecting to reap great benefit by it; and when he expires, one of the assistants is obliged to tear their clothes, which is alledged to be an ancient custom. The modern Jews

* Leo de Modena, Ceremonies of the Jews, part 3. chap. 7. p. 221.

† Buxtorf. in Synagoga, cap. 35. p. 428 & seq.

Jews throw also all the water that is found in the house into the street, that those who hear it may regret the loss. After death they lay out the corpse upon a cloth on the ground, with the face covered, it being no longer lawful to see it. They bend the thumb into the hand, which they tie with the strings of the Taled, because the thumb having the figure of Schaddai, the devil does not come near it. The rest of the hand remains open, to signify that he abandons all worldly things; whereas children come into the world with their hands clutched, to shew that God has put all the riches of the earth into their hands. They wash the body; though it is hard to find a reason why a body should be thus purified that is going to be a feast to worms. They formerly embalmed their dead, Gen. l. 1, 2. *Joseph fell upon his father's face, and wept upon him, and kissed him, and commanded his servants the physicians to embalm his father.* It was a kind of shame for the kings of Judah not to have perfumes burnt for them, and to be embalmed. Private persons were at great expences on this account. Joseph of Arimathea spared no rich spices for our Lord's burial, and devout women carried more to the grave. The Jews practise it still in the east, where perfumes are more common, and not so dear: But in Italy they are content to wash the body well with hot water, with chamomile and dried roses in it, and put on him a good shirt and drawers, to which some add a little rochet made of fine lawn, and his Taled or square vest with fringes, and a white bonnet upon his head, and set a wax candle at the head, placed in a pitcher or earthen vessel full

full of ashes. Then they put him in a coffin, which formerly was a kind of portable bed. Thus Afa being dead, 2 Chron. xvi. 14. *they laid him in a bed which was filled with sweet odours and divers kinds of spices prepared by the apothecary's art.* The modern Jews, if he is a person of note, make his coffin sharp pointed^a; and if a Rabbin, they lay a great many books upon it, which is covered with a black cloth, and so carry it out of the house.

Great lamentations were made for the dead. Hence, we read, Amos v. 16. of hired mourners, *Wailing shall be in all the streets: they shall say in the high-ways, Alas, alas! and they shall call the husbandmen to mourning, and such as are skilful of lamentation to wailing.* Ezek. xxvii. 29, 30. *The mariners, and all the pilots of the sea, shall come down from their ships, and shall cause their voice to be heard: they shall cry bitterly, and shall cast up dust upon their heads; they shall wallow themselves in ashes.* The accompanying the dead body, and carrying it to the grave, they reckon a very meritorious work; and therefore many people round about come to the funerals, and carry the corps upon their shoulders: The relations follow it in mourning. In some places they used to bear lighted torches, and to sing doleful ditties. David sang a funeral-song upon Abner, whose death afflicted him, 2 Sam. iii. 32,—34. It appears by the gospel, that they not only had singers, but also hired musicians; for our Lord found minstrels, Matth. ix. 23. at the gate of a nobleman whose daughter he raised from the dead.

§ 29. Their

^a Leo de Modena, *Ceremonies of the Jews*, part 5. chap. 8. p. 225.

§ 29. Their cemeteries were commonly out of the cities, pretty far remote. The tombs of David and Solomon, with the sepulchre of the kings of Judah, were near mount Zion. The monument remains: Dr. Prideaux^a hath given an account thereof; and I have conversed with a learned traveller, who had visited it, and shewed me an accurate draught of all its dimensions. Besides, they had several public burial-places, and some for private uses. The priests bought a field out of Jerusalem to bury strangers in, by which they meant, doubtless, the Gentile and Roman soldiers, who then resorted in considerable numbers to Jerusalem, because they had forces there, whose bodies they would not confound with those of the Jews. The ground about Jerusalem being full of rocks and caves, particular persons bought places for burying, or else hewed out new ones. Thus Abraham bought of Ephron the Hittite the field and cave of Machpelah to bury his wife, and there he and his children with several of his offspring were interred after their death. The Rabbies tell, that generally the door of the sepulchres were very narrow; for a stone which they rolled upon the mouth thereof, sufficed to shut it. They left a great void space, where the bearers entered and rested the coffin. On the sides and at the end they hallowed a certain number of niches, in which they placed the dead bodies of every family. Such niches were common in the catacombs of Rome, Naples and Sicily. They had a great reverence for their tombs; for it was not permitted

^a Connection, part 1. book 1. p. 27.

ted to cross them with an aqueduct or a high-way, nor to gather wood there, nor to feed flocks to pasture. They formerly placed them on great roads, to awaken the curiosity of travellers, and to preserve the memory of the dead. Thus Jacob, not being able to carry Rachel to Machpelah, buried her in the highway to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem, and set a pillar upon her grave, Gen. xxxv. 19, 20. which continued a long time. But they have since put their tombs in caves, and in hollows of rocks and mountains. They sometimes make them in gardens, and at the entry to synagogues; or erect places of worship near them, in memory of saints there buried. They feast and revel near them, as the Papists do in memory of the saints^b. It is one of the Jewish superstitions, to go and pray by the tombs of the saints, to whom they ascribe a power to help those who solicit them. When they come to the tomb at funerals, a speech is made to the dead to this purpose: "Blessed be God, who has formed thee, fed thee, maintained thee, and taken away thy life, O dead! He knows your numbers, and shall one day restore your life. Blessed be he that takes away life, and restores it." Then they put the coffin in the ground; and if he be a person of merit, they make his elegy. After the encomium they make a prayer, which they call *The righteousness of judgment*, because they give thanks to God, for having pronounced an equitable sentence on the dead: It begins with these words, Deut. xxxii. 4. *He is a rock, his work is perfect.* They lay
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^b Vide Hottingerum de cippiis Hebraicis.

a little bag of earth under the head of the dead, and nail up the coffin. Ten persons turn seven times round it, and say a prayer for the soul of the deceased; but this is not done in all places: The nearest relation tears a corner of his clothes, and they lay the corpse into the grave. The relations are the first who throw earth upon the coffin; each of those present cast in handfuls, or put it in with a shovel, till he is quite covered. Before they leave the place, each of them plucks up grass three times, which he throws behind him, saying these words, Psal. lxxii. 16. *They of the city shall flourish like the grass of the earth*, in token of the resurrection^c. Then they wash their hands, sit down and rise up nine times, saying, Psal. xci. *He that dwelleth in the secret of the most High, &c.* and so go home.

The Rabbins reckon thirty days of affliction for a dead friend: The three first are given up to tears and grief; and the seven following they lament his fate. But the common term is seven days, during which time they may do no sort of work, nor bathe, nor lie with their wives, nor put on a new or white habit. They sit down on the ground, take off their shoes; and their friends send them wine, bread, and hard eggs. They eat and drink^d, according to what is written, Prov. xxxi. 6. *Give strong drink to him that is ready to perish, and wine unto those that are of heavy hearts: let him drink, and forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more.* He that says the grace adds to it some words of consolation. There come at last ten persons to go to prayers

^c Leo de Modena, *Ceremonies of the Jews*, part 5. chap. 8. p. m. 228.

^d Ibid. chap. 9. p. 229.

prayers every morning and evening with these mourners, who do not stir out of the house all the while. To the usual prayers some add the forty-ninth Psalm, *Hear this, all ye people, and give ear, all ye inhabitants of the world, &c.* and pray for the soul of the deceased. No body opens his mouth till the afflicted person has spoke, because Job spoke before his friends. They roll up the bedding and coverlets which were on the deceased, on the same bedstead; and set a lamp at the bed-head, which burns all the seven mourning-days. Probably their grief is increased by a foolish opinion, that the dead must creep through the holes of the earth^e till they come to the Holy Land, where the resurrection shall be. When the seven days are expired, they go abroad. A great many use to set up lights in the synagogue, and have prayers said, and promise alms for the soul of the deceased, which they repeat again at the end of the month and year. If the deceased be a Rabbīn, or a man of note, they have at these times funeral-orations made for him, which they call *Esped*; and they cover the grave with a marble, upon which they write an epitaph in verse or in prose, with the name, the year, month and day when he died, and something in his praise. They use for a while to wear dark clothes, according to the custom of most countries, though Leo de Modena^e says, they have no precept for it.

§ 30. The bodies of the dead defile, and render those who touch them unclean; but the impurity is not contracted till the soul is separated from

^e Buxtorffii Synagoga, cap. 35 in fine.
p. 231.

^f Ceremonies of the Jews,

from the body, and there remains no motion. Then a part of a dead body no bigger than an olive^g, a nut-shell full of ashes, any piece of a bone, or a little quantity of blood, are sufficient to propagate contagion. Lepers defile as well as the dead; and therefore, according to the ancient ordinances of Moses, they take many precautions against them; but have mixed their superstitious inventions with the Levitical law; from which they are freed, if they would accept of the gospel liberty. Lastly, They take great care to shun the contagion of idolatry. There is a whole treatise in the Mishnah, containing many regulations concerning this matter^h. Peringreus, who translated it, was afraid to publish the same. But sincere Christians, who adhere to the pure written word of God, abhor idolatry as much as the Jews can do; and if they were not sadly blinded, they would never take such for idolaters. However, they forbid to purchase from, buy, sell, borrow or lend to idolaters three days before the feast, and some have extended the prohibition also to three days thereafterⁱ. Maimonides speaks of nothing less than stoning and death for those of his nation who give themselves to this sin; and seducers are condemned to the same punishment.

§ 31. I have now gone through and explained the most material things that offered concerning the religion, rites and ceremonies of the Jews, besides what hath been before^k advanced concerning their ancient Ceremonial and Judicial Laws;

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and

^g Mishnah, in tractatu de Tentoriis, cap. 1.
^k See Vol. I. page 331,—355.

^h Avodah Zarah, Cultus
ⁱ Maimonides de Idololatria.

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* Buxtorfii Synagoga, cap. 35 in fine.

† Ceremonie of the Jews,

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and

^g Mishnah, in tractatu de Tentoriis, cap. 2. ^h Avodah Zarah, Cultus peregrinus, cum præfatione Peringrei.

ⁱ Maimonides de Idololatria.

^k See Vol. I. page 331,—355.

and as to their opinions levelled against Christianity, I shall afterwards consider them, when I come to discourse of their conversion: And therefore I here put an end to this chapter. These who desire to be further informed concerning this subject, may consult the Jewish writings, and also those of learned Christians; as, Arias Montanus, Buxtorf, Cunæus, L'Empereur, several treatises of Selden, Leusden, Lightfoot, Weyms, Sigonius, Drusius, Hulsius, Basnage, Witsius, Reland, Hottinger, Leydeker de Republica Hebræorum, and others who have made large inquiries into the Jewish antiquities.

C H A P.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the History of the Jews, and of their Dispersions in the East and West, till the eighth Century of the Christian Era.

THE preservation of the Jewish nation in the midst of the calamities they have gone thro' these seventeen hundred years, is a matter that deserves our attention and wonder. Emperors and sovereigns have made and executed severe laws against them; the enraged multitude have raised barbarous tragical massacres and persecutions upon them. Heathens, Christians and Mahometans have united in designs to ruin this nation, but have never been able to accomplish it. Why? Because *God's covenant with them is everlasting.* The Lord hath promised, *When they be in the land of their enemies, I will not cast them away, neither will I abhor them to destroy them utterly, and to break my covenant with them; for I am the Lord their God, Lev. xxvi. 44. Fear thou not, O Jacob, my servant, saith the Lord, for I am with thee; for I will make a full end of all the nations whither I have driven thee, but I will not make a full end of thee, Jer. xlv. 28. Jer. xxx. 11.* These famous nations of Assyrians, Syrians, Egyptians, Am-

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monites, Moabites, Edomites, Philistines, and the rest who made once so great a figure in the world in the days of the prophets, are now utterly destroyed, neither name nor remembrance of them being left on the earth, since there is neither nation nor family in the world that bear their name, nor can give reasonable proof that they are descended of their posterity; but the Jews still remain.

Their miseries since the destruction of Jerusalem are the greatest that ever happened to them, or to any other people. In other captivities God fixed a time when he would be reconciled, break the yoke of their oppressors, and restore his people to liberty. Their longest distress was that in Egypt, which continued but about two hundred years; and they were not all that time under oppression: They returned from Babylon at the end of seventy years. The persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes continued but three years and ten days; but there is no time limited to the end of their present calamities. In other trials they were comforted by heroes wonderfully raised up, and by prophets divinely inspired, as Ezekiel, Daniel, the Maccabees and others, and they had encouraging promises of the coming of the Messiah. But now they have no such evidence of the divine favour; and their pretended Messiahs, or rather false cheats, add a fresh weight to their yoke. They were never so scattered all the world over as at this time. Josephus, who only saw the beginning of their desolation could not forbear to observe the hand of God in it; but he ascribes the cause to the impiety of the Zealots^a who

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 6.

who had so often profaned the temple, by shedding innocent blood there, that God was obliged to bring in the Romans to purify it by fire. The Jews themselves own that they love fair women, though they be Christians; which hath drawn upon them a double misfortune; for the husband, jealous of the adulterous Jew, often kills him, and makes the nation bear the punishment deserved by a private person. Besides, the children proceeding from this criminal conjunction become Christians, which the Jews think kindles the wrath of God. They are as fond of money as beauty, so as they undermine the commerce of Christians, and render themselves so odious by their excessive usuries, as frequently to incur exemplary punishments. To enrich themselves they also take false oaths, which were so common, that Aben Ezra thought them a sufficient cause to perpetuate their misery. They are also guilty of insufferable pride and ambition; so that in spite of all their calamities, they undervalue and despise all other nations but themselves, whom they esteem as the only favourites of Heaven. To all these we may add, that their infidelity and blasphemy procures them many enemies. But above all, the great source of their miseries, is their sin in crucifying our Saviour, and their despising, as hath been before observed^b, and undervaluing the Salvation purchased by the Son of God.

Having considered the springs of the calamities which have come upon the Jews, I shall now examine the history of their dispersions both in

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the east and west. By the latter I mean the Jews in Italy, Spain, Germany, England, and France, where they had considerable settlements. By the former I understand those of this nation in Greece, Egypt, Judea and all the provinces that lie to the eastward of them.

§ 1. As to these in the east it may be inquired where the ten tribes are whom Salmaneser king of Assyria carried captive, 2 Kings xvii. and what is become of them? This point I humbly conceive is not easy to determine, but I shall offer what seems most probable. It was the opinion of Cyril of Alexandria and Theodoret, That when Cyrus delivered the Jews out of Babylon, many of the ten tribes returned with them, from the cities of the Medes, where they had been settled. We find in our Saviour's time, that Anna was of the tribe of Asher; and that the apostles were taken from four different tribes. Hence it follows that there were some of the ten tribes then in Judea, tho' not the great body of them. The number of twelve thousand families who returned with Ezra, is too small to comprehend all these refugees. A great many orientals appeared at Jerusalem, on the feast of Pentecost, when the apostles began to preach there: It is not to be conceived that these were only profelytes, most of them were Jews, who came to sacrifice at Jerusalem, according to the law. They were relicks of the ten tribes that had been settled long ago among the Medes, Elamites, among the Parthians, dwellers in Mesopotamia, Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia, as by the designations given them by the inspired writer, Acts ii. 9,---11. appears. Philo, who lived near the
same

same time, in his embassy to Caius Caligula, represents, That Jerusalem ought not to be considered only as the metropolis of Judea, but as the center of a nation dispersed in many places, able to supply that prince with many powerful succours; for they dwelt in Cyprus, Candia, Egypt, Macedonia, and Bithynia, and some of them in Persia, and in other places of the east. Indeed the ten tribes transported by Salmaneser, seem still to have resided in Persia, notwithstanding the various revolutions of that monarchy. Here we find them, and I know not why the Jews maintain that they are lost. The prophet Hosea, ix. 16, 17. foretold, *Ephraim is smitten.—My God shall cast them away, because they did not hearken to him; they shall be wanderers among the nations.* This hath happened, they no longer make a national body, there is great confusion in their genealogies, and the tribes do not make that figure which they bore when the kings and caliphs permitted them to have a head of the captivity: Their numbers are lessened by persecutions and revolutions of the government. But since there are many Jews still to be seen in the great cities of Persia and Media, it is probable that these are of the posterity of the ten tribes who still subsist there. This account is more certain than that of the apocryphal Esdras, who tells us, that “they came to the river Euphrates, where God wrought a miracle, drying up the river till they had passed over, and then in a year and a half’s march they came to a city called Harshareth.” But this author is a mere impostor

postor, so far from being the true Ezra, that he seems to have lived after John wrote the Revelation; for he speaks ^d of Jesus the Son of God, of Christ's death, of a multitude standing with him on mount Zion. He boasts of divine inspiration by drinking a fire-coloured liquor, by the help whereof he dictated two hundred and four books, with many other ridiculous things ^e, which even the Papists are ashamed to own. Nor are we always to give credit to Benjamin de Tudela, who wrote his travels or Itinerary in the twelfth century, but takes many things upon trust, which he was not particularly acquainted with. Nor are we to depend on the uncertain conjectures that the ten tribes are in Tartary, as some suppose, nor that they are in America, as Sir William Penn, in his letter of the present state of the English plantations in America guesseth, and Manasseh ben Israel, in his hope of Israel ^f, and Mr. Elliot, in his treatise of the Jews in America. We may more certainly discover the true situation of the ten tribes from the sacred scriptures, where we find, 2 Kings xvii. 6. *That the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and in Habor, by the river Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes.* If it be further inquired where these places are, the learned Samuel Bochart affirms ^g, That Chalach is Ptolemy's Chalcena, situate on the north of Assyria. Habor is the mountain Chaboras, or rather Chaotras, mentioned

^d Esdras vii. 28. & ii. 47. ^e Vide Junii notas in Esdram. Heidegg. Enchiridion, p. 506, 507 Raynold, prælect. 30. ^f Spes Israël, Amstel. 1650. ^g Bocharti Phaleg. lib. 3. cap. 14. p. 220. See also Fulleri Miscellan. sacra, lib. 2. cap. 5.

mentioned by the same geographer, situated between Media and Assyria. Between this mountain and the Caspian sea stands the city Gozan, which gave its name to the province, and the river which was called Cyrus, after the Persians made themselves masters of the country. As to the cities of the Medes, we are more in the dark, because the sacred historian doth not specify any; but we may presume that this colony was placed in the mountainous Media, which was less peopled than the lower country: For these high regions wanted inhabitants, and if we believe Strabo^b were planted by colonies sent thither. Media was a very good country; Ecbatana, where their kings kept their residence, was one of the finest and largest cities then in the world. Susa, where they spent the winter, was also very considerable. On the north-side stood high mountains, where was good pasturage, but there was need of people used to tillage; and the Israelites were as fit for this purpose as any other.

The Talmudists seat their brethren in Media^c, Benjamin of Tudela, who lived in the twelfth century, reckons fifty thousand persons of this nation at Medai^d a city of mountainous Media. They also stretched upon the right into the provinces bordering upon the Caspian sea, at present called Gorgian and Tabrestan, and at Arfareth, which is a Hebrew name, signifying *the city of Relicks*, or, *the remains of Israel*. It is well known that the Jews were numerous at Nineveh, and at Babylon.

^b Strabo, lib. 11. p. 522.
Lightfoot, horæ Hebraicæ, in Cor. p. 931.
Vlyssa, 391,—410.

^c Bereschit Kabba, Sect. 33. apud
^d In Itineratio, vide Hornii

Babylon. Besides these who were carried thither at the time of the captivity, Artaxerxes sent a new colony of that nation thither. They had the courage to resist Alexander the Great, when he went to re-build the temple of Belus at Babylon¹. While other people were keen to furnish materials for the building, the Jews refused this task, thinking it had some stain of idolatry. Hæcætæus, cited by Josephus^m, tells, that the greater part of these Jews who opposed Alexander, did not live at Babylon, but in the country, probably about Chaboras, which was at no great distance from it. He also observes, that this province was very large, since it contained many Satrapæ or governments, and that the Jews returning home to their own province, demolished all the temples and altars consecrated to idols; and these Satrapæ paid a fine for some, and obtained pardon for the rest. Antiochus the Great lessened the number of the Jews at Babylon, by transporting two thousand families of them to the Lesser Asia. Though Babylon was afterwards much depopulated, there were many Jews there in the time of the apostles, which obliged Peter the apostle of the circumcision to take care of them; and thence he wrote his epistle, 1 Pet. v. 13.

§ 2. The origin of the Jews in Egypt may be discovered from several parts of the foregoing history. After the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, and the murder of Gedalia, governor of Judea, Jochanan the son of Kareah, went in search of a sanctuary in Egypt against Ishmael's

¹ See Vol. III. p. 209.

^m Contra Appionem, lib. 1.

Immanuel's cruelty, Jer. xli. — xlv. He carried all the people left by the Chaldeans thither, and even the prophet Jeremiah, who exclaimed against this violence, and foretold the miseries that should accompany the refugees in Egypt; all which came to pass: For Pharaoh-Hophrah being conquered by Nebuchadnezzar, many of the natural inhabitants of Egypt were destroyed or transported whither the conqueror pleased, and also of the Jews. Nevertheless many Jewish families remained in the country, who afterwards spread considerably. Alexander the Great sent a colony of Jews to Alexandria which he founded, and gave them great privileges. Ptolemy Philadelphus caused the holy scriptures to be translated out of the Hebrew into the Greek language^a in favour of the Jews. Ptolemy Philopator, a monster of cruelty and debauchery, persecuted them^b. Onias built a temple for them^c. What calamities came upon them in Egypt after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, have also been already observed^d.

Some Jewish refugees passed from Egypt into the Higher Ethiopia, or the empire of Abyssinia. If we believe the traditions of that country, the queen of Sheba carried Solomon's religion thither; and they tell that after her return she was delivered of a son called Meneleher^e, who was sent to Jerusalem and educated in the Jewish religion by Solomon his father; who, upon his coming home, brought with him priests and Levites, to instruct his country. They also confidently assert, that the Jewish religion was preserved there without books

^a See Vol. III. page 256.

^b See Vol. III. page 300.

^c See Vol.

III, page 400.

^d See page 76, — 81.

^e Geddes's History of Ethiopia.

books by the help of tradition ; and therefore the kings of Abyssinia at this day call themselves kings of the Israelites. But it is hard to believe that Judaism subsisted in Ethiopia from the time of the queen of Sheba without books and writings : It is more probable that it was carried thither from the neighbouring country of Egypt, where the Jews had ancient settlements. It is also probable that by commerce between the Egyptians and Ethiopians, the Jews passed into Arabia, tho' we can give no certain account of the ancient state of Judaism in that country.

It is more sure that the Jews were dispersed in the cities of Asia and Greece, in the time of the Syro-Macedonian kings, where they were called Hellenists. Antiochus the Great sent them into Lydia and Phrygia : From thence they passed into Thracia, where they were fixed in the fourth century, when Constantine the Great fixed the seat of his empire at Constantinople, which is in that province. The kings of Syria, who valued themselves upon building many great cities, endeavoured to draw inhabitants to them of all religions ; and for their encouragement gave them not only liberty of conscience, but even the same privileges as other Greek subjects. Hence the Jews multiplied in that country to so considerable numbers, that when the Romans in the wars of Vespasian massacred the Jewish inhabitants in Ascalon, Ptolemais, Damascus and other places, they durst not meddle with these of this nation in Antioch and Apamea. After the destruction of Jerusalem, the Jews who remained in Judea were sold and scattered in all the provinces of the Roman empire, but could not in all these places preserve the distinction

distinction of their tribes and families; nor was it necessary, when the end of that distinction was accomplished in the coming of the Messiah.

§ 3. Having seen how the Jews were dispersed in the east, we are next to inquire how they came to be settled in the west. Their scatterings in all the nations of the world are an accomplishment of what the Lord denounced against them for breaking his law, Deut. xxviii. 64, 65. *The Lord shall scatter thee among all people from the one end of the earth to the other, and among all these nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest.* Rutilius, a heathen, who had been prefect of Rome about the beginning of the fifth century, and neither loved Jews nor Christians, describes the great numbers of the former that had been dispersed at Rome and in Italy, in elegant verse, as at the foot of the page. But if we inquire further into the history of these dispersions, we may find that though the Jews had some correspondence with the Romans from the time of the Maccabees, as may be seen in the foregoing history; yet it does not appear that any of this nation had any fixed abode at Rome before the time of Pompey the Great. He having conquered Jerusalem 63 years before the birth of Christ, conveyed several Jews to Rome, and made slaves of them. Their masters having set them at liberty,

they
*Rutilius in Itinerario, lib. i.
 Atque utinam nunquam Judæa subacta fuisset
 Pompeii bellis imperioque Titus,
 Latius excisæ gentis contagio serpit,
 Victoresque suos natio victa premit.*

In English, I wish Judæa ne'er had been overcome
 By Pompey's wars nor Titus' armies won.
 The poison of that nation widely spread's,
 The vanquish'd o'er the victors lift their heads.

¹ See Vol. III page, 388, 412, 415.

they would not quit the city, but were distinguished by the name of Libertines or free men. They always preserved their religion, and sent their presents to Jerusalem, where they had their synagogue, called, Acts vi. 9. *The synagogue of the Libertines*. Augustus the emperor favoured them because they had been zealous for the interest of Julius Cæsar his uncle; and they so multiplied at Rome under the protection of this great prince, that fifty deputies arriving from Jerusalem to plead the privileges of their nation, eight thousand Jews, inhabitants of Rome joined them without counting their wives and children; so that by adding them, we may reckon at that time fifty thousand Jews in that great city. Many of them were Roman citizens. The apostle Paul boasts of this privilege, Acts xxii. 25, 28. Whether this was common to him with the inhabitants of Tarsus, a Roman colony, or was purchased by his father or some of his ancestors, I shall not determine: But this proves that a Jew might be a citizen of Rome, and thereby have a claim to honours and dignities. They had also liberty of conscience, and the exercise of their religion with their feasts and Sabbaths. They enjoyed a sort of council or house of judgment, which decided controversies; to which the apostle gave account of his conduct. And this house seems to have kept correspondence with the sanhedrim, since he thought they had been informed of his business; and they were surprised that they had received no letters from Jerusalem concerning him,

Acts

Acts xxviii. 17, 21. Lastly, the Jews had an abode beyond the Tiber, for which Martial^x, and Horace^y lampoons them, laughing at their circumcision. Tiberius declared himself an enemy to them, and Caligula was as much against them: But of these things I have formerly discoursed^z, and of the several events that happened to them till the reign of the emperor Hadrian, about the year of our Lord 135, and therefore shall now go to consider their settlements in other parts of the west.

To find out the time of their coming into Spain and into Gaul, we must descend into the reigns of Titus and Hadrian, who having driven most of the inhabitants out of Judea, obliged them to find out new settlements. Perhaps some of this nation might arrive in these parts a little sooner, when Archelaus was banished into Vienne in Gaul, and Herod the Tetrarch into Lions^a. They doubtless carried some Jews in their retinue thither; but exiled princes could not support a great number of attendants; yet some descended from them, or their servants, might continue a long time in these regions. But the greater number that settled in these western parts, were such as had weathered the storm which laid their native country desolate in the reigns of Titus and Hadrian; who finding no recess in the east, went into Spain or into Gaul, or other places in the Roman empire, where they might get bread, or else were conveyed thither by the masters who bought them, and gave

^x Lib. 6. Epig. 93. et detracta cani Transiberius cutis.
dels oppodere, Horat. lib. 1. Sat. 9.
IV. page 395, 396.

^z See page 22.

^y Curtius Ju-
See Vol.

gave them their liberty : And therefore we may justly reject the dreams of Solomon ben Virga or other Jewish writers, who fancy their countrymen came into these parts in the time of Solomon king of Israel, or of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon. One thing seems certain, that there was a considerable number of Jews in Spain about the beginning of the fourth century, since the council of Elvira, held about the year of our Lord 308, was obliged to make many canons^b against them.

Whatever antiquity the Jews in Germany pretend to, we only know that they were at Triers and Cologne in Hadrian's time, and made so considerable a figure there in Constantine the Great's reign, that this emperor emitted an edict, by which "he permitted the magistrates of Cologne to take the Jews into the magistracy, to make them decurions, and to grant them other privileges^c;" which was not done merely to gratify the Jews : For at some seasons these offices are burdensome. The magistrates complained that their people were oppressed, and the Jews too much exceded from these burdens ; and therefore the emperor authorises the magistrates of Cologne to chuse some of the synagogue for such offices, and deprives the Jews of the liberty of refusing them. But in after ages the Jews made so little figure in Germany as hardly to be known; which is no wonder ; for those vast countries being peopled by barbarous nations, were not fit for the commerce of strangers ; only they still maintained themselves at Triers

^b Concilium Illibertinum, can. 49, 50, 79 apud Caranzam. ^c Codex Theodosii, lib. 16. tit. 8 leg. 2, 3, 4.

Triers and Cologn, where they had settled sooner. From thence they spread into other places, and multiplied in Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland. They also became numerous in Gaul; thence they passed into England. The several events that happened them in these places, with their academies and learned men, we shall meet with in the progress of this work.

§ 4. I have already deduced the history of the Jews from the creation of the world to the reign of the emperor Hadrian^d. I shall now go on with what happened them in the time of the emperors his successors. Though the Jews boast of the favour they received from Antoninus Pius, yet it is certain that he defeated their insurrections^e by his captains and his presidents of his provinces. The matter seems to stand thus: The prohibition of circumcision emitted by the emperor Hadrian was still in force; he obliged them to it by the torrent of his conquests, and the power of his arms: The Jews could not long bear to be deprived of this sacramental sign of their religion; but to recover it, they resolved with sword in hand to compel Antoninus to restore them this privilege. They being overcome by the emperor's troops, he was so favourable as to allow them the liberty of circumcision, under some restrictions that the Samaritans might not have the same benefit; and that the Jews were not allowed to make proselytes^f; nor might any Christian be castrated.

VOL. V.

S

About

^d From beginning of vol. 1. to p. 84, vol. 5. ^e Capitolinus in Antonino Pio, Judæos rebellantes contudit per præfides & legatos. ^f Origen contra Celsum, lib. 2. p. 68. Justin Martyr, Apolog. 2. p. 71.

About this time Justin Martyr had a conference with Tryphon a circumcised Jew, a private person whom the desolation of his country had obliged to shift from place to place in Greece; at last Justin meets with him. I shall not enlarge upon the dialogue itself, I only observe, that as Justin had exactly read the writings of the prophets, so in order to prove that Jesus is the Messias, he heaps testimonies one upon another, without any great art or choice: He represents to the Jew, that their cities were burnt and desolate, or inhabited by strangers; that they could no more go to Jerusalem; that notwithstanding of these miseries, they ceased not in their synagogues to curse to hell all that believed in Jesus; since they were not able to persecute them to death, they branded them as atheists and impious men. He represents the Rabbins as poor divines, running after trifles^a, and subtle explications, as they have done ever since, and therefore they had reason to forbid their disciples to engage in conferences with the Christians. Tryphon was not able to answer Justin's arguments: However, the conference had no other effect than that each of the disputants continued in their opinion, praying to God for the conversion and prosperity of one another. Soon after this Antoninus Pius died in the year of our Lord 160.

Though Marcus Aurelius, the succeeding emperor, was naturally of a mild temper, yet this freed not the Jews from a great deal of misery in his reign. He had so bad an opinion of them, that

^a Justin Martyr. Dialog. p. 217,—371.

^b Ibid. p. 256.

that as he passed through Judea in his way to Egypt, he cried out, that he had found a people as wicked as the Marcomans and Sarmatians; and to punish them he renewed Hadrian's laws against them. This hindered them not from signaling their hatred against the Christians in Asia, which particularly appeared at Smyrna on the occasion of Polycarp's martyrdom; where they not only joined their voices with the heathens in crying out on the theatre, "he is an athiest," but they were also most vehement round the pile¹ set for burning him; yea, they persecuted him after his death by soliciting the judge to deny his body to the Christians, under the false pretence that they would worship it, and forsake Jesus Christ for him. At last the captain of the guard seeing the bitter rage of the Jews against the dead body, caused it to be reduced to ashes. His martyrdom is placed, February 22d, in the year of our Lord 166. These commotions might be made by a mutinous rabble; but the Jews seem to have enjoyed great liberty at Smyrna, since they were present at the theatre, and there distinguished themselves from the heathens. We find also some footsteps of their authority in Phrygia, by the answers that the orthodox made to the Montanists, when they accused the Christians as murderers of the prophets, because they did not receive the pretended prophets of this party. "But let them answer," said the Orthodox², "Is there any of them, since Montanus and his women began to prattle, that has
§ 2 been

¹ Vide Epistolam Ecclesiz Smyrnenfis de S. Polycarpi martyrio, p. 62. edit Oxoniz Euseb. hist. Eccl. lib. 4 cap. 14, 15. * Euseb. ibid lib. 5. cap. 16.

been persecuted by the Jews, or killed by the impious? Is there any woman among them that has been whipped in the synagogues or stoned?" This author then blames the Jews for persecuting the Christians, scourging them in the synagogues, pursuing them in the streets with stones, and even crucifying them. Indeed at this time there were many Hellenist Jews in Asia, who had continued there from the time of the Syro-Macedonian kingdom, erected by the successors of Alexander the Great. The name of Hellenists was given them, because they were mingled with the Greeks, spoke their language, and read the holy scriptures in it of the version of the seventy. They joined with other Jews in the same religion and ceremonies, and particularly in hating and persecuting the Christians. They are called in the New Testament, John xii. 20. *Ἑλληνες*, or Greeks.

There is little to be remarked concerning the Jews in the reigns of the emperors Commodus, Pertinax, and Julian. Severus an African ascended the throne in the year of our Lord 195. He being a warlike prince, defeated Pescennius Niger, who was declared emperor by the legions in Syria, in a great battle near the bay of Issus, and afterwards overcame Albinus, another competitor, in Gaul. He reduced and razed Byzantium, and extended the Roman conquests over the Parthians, Medes, Arabians, and other nations in the east. As he returned from these provinces, he marched through Judea; and Eusebius ¹ says, that he made war with the Jews and Samaritans. In the same progress he made severe laws relating to Palestine

¹ In Chronicle, ad A. D. 200.

Palestine, one of which prohibited any person to turn a Jew^m. He indeed allowed them to circumcise their children, but discharged them either to receive proselytes, or to initiate strangers by this sacrament. And Tertullianⁿ tells us, "That the Jews then were a parcel of dispersed vagabonds, wandering from their own country over the whole universe, without a king, having neither the favour of God nor man, it being not permitted to them so much as to salute their own land, nor to set a foot in it, even in the quality of strangers or travellers." It is true they had some settlements in Galilee; but the inhibition of living in the Holy Land given by Hadrian^o, was still in force in the reign of Severus. He seems to have become more favourable to them towards the latter end of his government, mainly because they had adhered to his interest in opposition to Pescennius Niger; and some rich persons among them bought his favour: So as he permitted them to enter into offices^p, but obliged them to pay great taxes. These advantages rendered them more insolent to the Christians, whom this emperor persecuted.

§ 5. Caracalla succeeded his father Severus about the year of our Lord 212. He proved favourable to the Jews: One of them was his play-fellow^q; and they took the advantage of the peace they then enjoyed, to collect their traditions in the Mishnah, of which we have already^r spoken, though the book was not published till some time afterwards. They very narrowly escaped a persecution.

^m Spartianus in Severo. ⁿ In Apologetico, cap. 21. operum, p 35.
^o See p. 84. ^p Spartianus in Severo. ^q Id. in Caracalla. ^r See p. 130.

cution in Heliogabalus's reign. He had been circumcised, and from a pretended devotion abstained from swines flesh; but being advanced to the empire, became a monster of luxury[†]; yea, would have the Jews and all others to acknowledge him for a new deity. But he being hateful to all men, was put to death by his own guard, after a short reign of three years, nine months, and four days; and thus the Jews were happily delivered. The clemency of Alexander Severus contributed to their prosperity; nor doth it appear that any of the following emperors, *viz.* Maximinus, Gordian, Philippus Arabs, Decius, or Valerian ever disturbed them. Thus their tranquillity was continued (even while the Christian church suffered sore persecutions) to the year of our Lord 260.

The famous Zenobia queen of the east is asserted to have been a Jewess[‡]. Though she did not persecute the Christians, she afforded no doubt protection and favour to the people of her own religion. Odenat her husband, with a son he had by a former wife, being cut off, Zenobia reigned alone. She added Egypt to her conquests, extended her arms into Asia Minor, as far as Tyana and Ancyra, passed into Bithynia, and there took Chalcedon[§]. But the emperor Aurelian restored the affairs of the Romans, defeated Zenobia, took her prisoner as she was going to pass the Euphrates, and led her to Rome, there to adorn his triumph in the year of our Lord 274; and soon after this Aurelian himself was killed by some officers of his army. This glimpse of prosperity and authority

[†] Lampridius in Heliogabalo.
837. [§] Vopiscus in Aureliano.

[‡] Athanasius ad Solitarium, tom. 2. p.

authority of the Jewish nation soon vanished: Many of their doctors retired into the cities of Persia. Dioclesian, that terrible persecutor of the Christians, did not attack the Jews; their numbers being extremely lessened in the empire, he did not think it necessary to employ open force against them.

§ 6. In the fourth century the fate of the Jews varied according to the different genius of Christian princes. Constantine the Great contented himself with making some laws that restrained their liberty to narrower bounds, and general councils were not very favourable to them. In Spain Christians and Jews used to live socially together; but the council of Illiberis* “forbade Christians to eat at the same table with a Jew, under pain of being secluded from the Lord’s supper.” And the same council, by another decree†, “forbade the possessors of lands to suffer their fruits to be blessed by the Jews, because their benedictions frustrated those of the Christians; and threatened absolutely to cast out of the church those that should not obey this law. These canons, especially the first of them, seem very improper methods to convince the Jews of the excellency of our holy religion. It is true the Jews had taken all opportunities hitherto of shewing their hatred to Christians, while they were groaning under the heavy persecutions of Heathen princes; but our Lord hath taught us to *render good for evil, to love our enemies, and to shew ourselves the children of the Highest, by being kind to the unthankful and to the evil.* To go on with our history.

The

* Concilium Illibertinum, A. D. 308. Canone 50. † Ibid. can. 49.

The emperor Constantine also emitted several edicts concerning them. By one of these he decrees^a, "That if the Jews shall attack any person with stones, or in any other furious manner, to renounce their religion; the offender with all his accomplices shall be burnt: And if any Christian shall join their wicked sect, and apply himself to their councils; both he that doth so, and they that entice him, shall be punished." This law is dated October 17th, Constantine and Licinius being consuls the fourth time; that is, in the year of our Lord 315. The occasion thereof seems to be this: One Joseph, (of whom we have before^a heard, having abandoned the synagogue, to embrace Christianity, the Jews were so incensed against him, that they went to insult him in his own house; and finding that there he was reading the gospel, they forced his book from him, loaded him with blows, hauled him to the synagogue, and there unmercifully scourged him. Not content with this violence, they pushed him into the river Cydnus, where he was in danger of being drowned^b. But God having preserved him, he received baptism, made himself known at court, and obtained the emperor's leave to build Christian temples in several places where none had been before: And to prevent the like intolerable abuses in all time coming, the emperor framed this law. The Jews had settlements at Dio-Cæsarea, Tiberias, Nazareth, and Capernaum, and had so appropriated these cities to themselves, as not to admit strangers, nor even Samaritans. Joseph under-

took

^a Codex Theodosii, lib. 16. tit. 8. de Judæis, l. 1. ^b See p. 135. b E. piphanius, tom. I. hæc. 30. p. 135 & seq.

took to introduce the Christian religion into all these cities. The Jews resisted him, and made use of magical spells to disappoint his design. But he dissipated their spells by invoking the name of Jesus, and was mightily supported to restrain their irregularities, in places where their great numbers made them venture to be insolent, by the help of the above-written law.

The same emperor forbade Christians to turn Jews, under the pain of an arbitrary punishment. Such who were slaves to Jewish masters were in greatest danger; and therefore he prohibited the Jews to circumcise any who were in their service, and gave liberty to all who accused their master of having circumcised them, or that embraced Christianity. Eusebius, who must have known this law, gives it a greater extent; for he says, the Jews were not allowed to buy Christian slaves, nor keep them in their houses, giving this reason for it, "That it was not lawful that those who were ransomed by the blood of Christ, should be subject to them who killed the prophets and murdered the Son of God." Lastly, Constantine ordered that the Jews might be made decurions, because it was fit they should have their share in the public burdens; but then he exempted the patriarchs, the priests and those who had considerable employs in the synagogues; because they being taken up by their functions, could not attend the duties of these offices; for indeed the post of decurion was not an honour but a servitude.

At

^c Codex Theodosii, lib. 16. tit. 9. Leg. 1, 2. ^d Eusebius in vita Constantini, lib. 4. cap. 27. ^e Codex Theodosii, lib. 16. tit. 8. lege 1.

At that time this nation did undergo a cross turn of fortune in the person of one of her grandees in the east; this was Ravena, or Rabbi Nachmanides, head of the academy of Sora. He wrote a commentary on Genesis of great esteem with them, and removed so great difficulties, as he was called a *leveller of mountains*. But falling under the displeasure of Sapor king of Persia, he was sent into banishment, under which he died. He left a nephew whom he called Avii, for two reasons, one, that he had been an orphan, entertained out of charity; and the other that he would not let him be known by the name of Nachman, lest the disciples should be confounded with the master, the nephew with the uncle. He made such proficiency by Ravena's lectures, as he became the head of the academy of Pundebita, in the year of our Lord 325, which he governed till 339. There was another professor in the academy of Sora, called *Joseph of great light*, because he was blind. He was also surnamed Sinai, because they pretended he knew all the traditions said to be given by Moses on that mount; and he is believed to have been the author of the Chaldee paraphrases upon some of the Hagiographia, as on the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Ruth and Esther.

In Constantine's reign, the Jews who were potent at the court of Persia, revenged themselves for what they had suffered in the Roman empire, by kindling a cruel persecution against the Christians of the east. They being accused of favouring

ing the Romans, then at war with the Persians; Sapor was so enraged against them, as to burden them with unsupportable taxes, and to order all the priests and ministers of the Christians to have their heads cut off, commanding their churches also to be demolished, and all that belonged to them to be carried to the public treasury; and that Simeon, archbishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, should be brought to him as a traitor to the state, and enemy to the religion of the Persians. These orders were executed with great severity: for Simeon was taken and brought to the king in irons, who refusing to worship the sun, was condemned to death, with many other Christians^a. And the persecution was continued till Sapor's death.

Constantine the Great, the first Christian emperor, died in the year of our Lord 338. His son Constantius was more severe against the Jews than his father; being provoked by what they had done at Alexandria, when Gregory the Cappadocian went to succeed Athanasius; where they joining with the heathens, then numerous in that great city, burnt the sacred books, undressed themselves in the baptisteries, and profaned them in so impudent a manner, that Athanasius^b was ashamed to speak of it. Their insolence went so far, as to strip virgins of their clothes, and then force them to abjure their religion. This being done at the solicitation of Gregory the Arian bishop, who had great interest at court, no body punished it. But the Jews ventured to go further; for when Magnentius a barbarian usurped the honours and titles

of

^a Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. lib. 2. cap. 8.—15. Socrates, lib. 7. cap. 13.

^b Athanasius in epist. ad Orthodoxos.

of the empire, after the murder of the emperor Constans in the west, in the year 351; which obliged the emperor Constantius to march all his forces out of the east against the usurper: Then they rose in rebellion at Dio-Cæsarea in Palestine. Mean time Gallus, whom the emperor had made Cæsar, and ordered to march against the Persians, came into Judea, defeated the rebels, and razed Dio-Cæsarea, though it was some time afterwards rebuilt. Constantius having defeated and killed Magnentius; and having all the success he wished for in his expedition into the west, upon his return shewed his displeasure against the Jews: For Hilary, who wrote about that time, tells us, "That by an edict from the Roman emperor, they were hindered from entering into Jerusalem." By which it seems he renewed the edicts of Hadrian against them. He also made it punishable by death and confiscation of moveables, if a Jew should circumcise so much as a Christian servant. He prohibited their having Christians in their service; and forbade under pain of death any Christian to embrace their religion, and discharged any Jew from marrying a Christian. Finally, he loaded them with taxes, and had projected new pecuniary edicts against them when he died. In the same reign Epiphanius, who was born a Jew, embraced Christianity. One John, the author of his life hath mixed with it a great many idle and fabulous storiesⁿ; which is not my business to repeat: ^o ~~estit hinc usque ad hunc diem~~ ^p ~~estit hinc usque ad hunc diem~~ ^q ~~estit hinc usque ad hunc diem~~

^l Hilarius in Psalmum 58. p. m. 393. edit. 1570. ^k Sozomen hist. lib. 2. cap. 17. ⁱ Codex Theodosii, lib. 16. tit. 8. leg. 5, 6, 7. ^m Vide vitam Epiphanius excerptam ex voce Joannis ejus discipuli in edit. Epiphanius 1622. tom. 2. p. 318.

peat: But that he renounced Judaism, and became afterwards a famous bishop, and an useful instrument in the Christian church, is evident from his life and works.

The emperor Constantius died in the year of our Lord 361, and was succeeded by Julian, commonly called the *Apostate*, his cousin. The particulars of his life, and the means by which he endeavoured to restore paganism, and how God in mercy to the Christian church disappointed them, I have discoursed of in another essay, and they belong not to my present undertaking. I shall only at present notice, that he gave all manner of assistance and encouragement to the Jews in contempt of the Christians; for he hated both: But when he found the former were like to be instruments to promote his purpose, he called for them, spoke tenderly to them, pitied their miserable and afflicted state, remitted the tribute put upon them, desired the help of their prayers in his Persian wars, and wrote to them a kind letter still extant^d, wherein he “commanded them immediately to go repair the temple, retrieve the customs of their ancestors, and worship God according to the rites of their religion.” This he did to allure them to the Pagan superstition; or if that failed, to evidence to the world that our Saviour was a false prophet, who so expressly foretold the final destruction of that church and state. The Jews were so glad of these orders, that they began to triumph over the Christians, threatening to make them feel as terrible effects of their severity

^d Juliani Epist. 25. operum, p. 306. Juliani fragmentum, p. 225.

erty as ever they themselves had endured by the Romans. When the news came abroad about rebuilding the temple, contributions were made by all hands, the very Jewish women sold their ornaments and jewels to advance the work; what was wanting the emperor commanded to be furnished out of his own treasury. Alypius of Antioch was overseer of the work, tradesmen were brought from all parts, materials were made ready, and the work began. Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, minding the prophecy of Daniel, and that of our Lord, told them, "That even now the time was come, that not one stone should be left upon another." The event justified the prediction; for when the builders had cleared the ground, a sudden storm arose that carried away these vast heaps of rubbish, with a great quantity of lime and sand prepared for the work. This was followed with a dreadful earthquake, which cast up stones from the foundation, and overturned some adjoining houses. Several persons were killed, and others drawn out with broken legs and arms, almost bruised to death. When they attempted again to build, a fire rushed out upon them that destroyed many, and scorched the rest. These miraculous interposals of providence brought over some Jews, who were baptised, and admitted as members of the Christian Church: But the greater part continued in unbelief, and Julian, like Pharaoh, hardened his heart. This is attested by ecclesiastic historians, and the substance thereof confirmed by the testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus

^o Socrates hist. lib. 3. cap. 20. Theodoret hist. lib. 3. cap. 20. Sozomen, lib. 3. cap. 20.

Marcellinus a heathen^a. Sozomen, after rehearsing the fact^b, says, "If these things appear incredible to any, we are assured of them by those who heard it from such as were eye-witnesses, and are yet alive; and is confirmed both by Jews and Heathens, who left the work imperfect, being scarce well begun." The work was interrupted in this manner some months before the death of Julian; and therefore the ceasing of it is not to be ascribed, with Mr. Crul^c, to the fall of this emperor. But I have elsewhere advanced^d some other things to confirm the truth of this miracle, and see no reason now to change my opinion. What Julian designed to suppress Christianity, became a mean to advance it.

Julian was killed in the Persian war, July 26. A. D. 363, in the thirty-second year of his age, when he had not reigned two full years. Jovian his successor was obliged to check the insolence which the favour of his predecessor had infused both into the Heathens and Jews over the Roman empire; but his reign of eight months was so short, as little could be done in it, especially since Valentinian and Valens his successors restored an entire liberty of conscience to the enemies of the Christians, Heathens, Jews, and heretics; though this afterwards was by degrees restrained.

Theodosius was invested with the imperial purple in the year of our Lord 379. He not only favoured the Jews, but also being informed that the Christians had burnt one of their synagogues at Rome, he ordered the same to be rebuilt; at which

^a Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 23. ab initio. ^b Loc. citato. ^c Jewish hist. vol. 2. p. 298. ^d Propagation of Christianity, chap. 4.

which Ambrose bishop of Milan was exceedingly offended, and passionately exclaims against it in a letter still extant¹, to the emperor, where he tells him, "That the Jews had burnt in the reign of Julian two Christian churches at Damascus, and others at Gaza, Ascalon, Berytus, and Alexandria, for which the church never got any reparation; and shall these infidels be so recompensed for the loss of one synagogue? Had he not heard how the temple which Julian had ordered to be built for them at Jerusalem was burnt with fire from heaven; and would he receive no warning?" In the same reign the Jews were excluded from dignities, and obliged regularly to pay their taxes with which they were loaded even to excess. And it is generally supposed, that the same prince permitted them to build a sort of city on that space of ground between Constantinople and the sea-shore, which remained in the year 1204, when the crusaders went to the Holy Land, and where many of them live to this day: And he allowed them to answer before nobody but the prætor, or judge appointed for that part. Which privilege continued till the reign of Manuel Comnenus, who abolished it about the year 1150.

Jerom had not the same abhorrence for the doctors of this nation as Ambrose. He travelled into Judea, lived several years in it, and there hired some Jewish doctors to instruct him in the Hebrew language, in which the Old Testament is originally written. He with great labour acquired it², and by the help of these teachers compos-
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¹ Ambrosii Epist. lib. 5. Ep. 49. operum tom. 3. p. 108.—113. ² Vide Hieronymum, ad Rusticum in Epist. Paulæ, in præfatione ad Danielen, & in præfatione in Paralipom.

ed a Latin version of the holy scriptures. He was a little lifted up with this piece of learning, which was not then common in the Christian church: But modern critics must understand it much better, having the great advantage of studying the oriental tongues from their youth, by the help of grammars and dictionaries, which Jerom was not privileged with. However, his labours upon the scriptures, wherein he adheres to the literal sense, without wandering after far-fetched allegories, have been very useful to the church of God.

§ 7. If we look into the affairs of the Jews in the fifth century, we may observe, that most of the edicts published in the preceding age were executed in this. Some of them were renewed, and others added that were thought necessary to check the insolence of this people against the Christian religion. A new occasion offered: The Jews being convened to celebrate their deliverance by Esther, and the feast of Haman, committed innumerable extravagances: Reading the history of this enemy, whenever his name is mentioned they make a frightful noise^x, beating with their feet and stones. After this follows a debauch, as in most of their feasts. The Christians took little notice of these follies: But when the Jews proceeded further, to set up a gallows, on which they hanged Haman in effigy; this being imagined to be done in order to insult the Christians, and pour contempt on our Lord's death, and the rather, because the Jews changed the gibbet into a cross, and afterwards burnt the cross with the

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figure

^x See p. 201.

figure fastened to it, attended with many curses, reflecting on our Saviour: The emperor Theodosius II. being informed of these practices, forbade by a law "the raising or burning of these sorts of gibbets by the Jews, under the pain of losing their privileges, because it was not fit that they should insult the mysteries of Christianity¹." This law is dated in the consulate of Bassus and Philippus, that is, in the vulgar year of our Lord 408. In some places they obeyed, but new troubles sprung up in Macedonia and Dacia. In these countries the Jews continued to insult Christianity; and the Christians burnt their houses and synagogues, and even sometimes put the Jews to death. Theodosius, by a new law², condemned this oppression, "forbidding any magistrate to condemn the Jews for their religion, or suffer their edifices to be burnt; and that on the other hand the Jews should not violate the respect due to the Christian church." Three years after this, the Jews at Inmestiar, between Chalcis and Antioch, fell into an excess: Debauchery prevailed over the respect due to the prince's laws; for they fastened a young Christian to Haman's gibbet and whipped him so cruelly that he died. The Christians, enraged at this barbarity, ran to arms; and the Jews being numerous, there was a warm engagement. Upon information given by the governor of the province, Theodosius ordered the guilty to be chastised³, and thus the tumult was appeased. In the year of our Lord 425, the emperor spent the winter at Constantinople, at which time he framed

¹ Codex Theodosii, lib. 16. tit. 8. l. 18.

² Ibid. l. 21. A. D. 412.

³ Socrates, hist. lib. 7. cap. 16.

framed many ordinances, ratifying the decrees of his predecessors concerning the Jews, forbidding them to build new synagogues, or to circumcise the children of any Christian^b, and that no person should presume to burn or destroy their synagogues, nor any other way to chastise them without special orders. In the year 429 the patriarchal office among the Jews within the dominions of the empire was abolished^c, the revenues being given to the exchequer: And I see little more after this concerning them in the Theodosian code.

In the year 434 there happened a considerable revolution in the affairs of the Jews in the island of Candia or Crete. Many rich Jews, who resided there, being deceived by a false Messiah, named Moses, travelling through the island several months, and pretending to be the ancient lawgiver, descended from Heaven to procure them a glorious deliverance, by leading them through the sea home to the Holy Land, as had been done when they came out of Egypt; in one year's time he persuaded all the Jews in the island to believe him, and the infatuation was so great, that they followed their leader^d, with their wives and children, to a rock hanging over the sea, and were persuaded to leap into the ocean, where many were drowned, others were saved by Christian fishermen who happened to be there with their boats. The impostor vanished; which made some affirm, says Soerates^e, "That he was a devil named Alastor, assuming a man's shape to deceive this credulous nation."

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^b Cod. Theod. lib. 16. tit. 8 l. 25, 26, 27 ^c Ibid. l. 29 See p. 121.
^d Soerates, Hist. Eccl. lib. 7. cap. 38 ^e Ibid.

nation." Others think that the cunning cheat took timely care to save himself by flight. The greater part of the Jews in that place, moved by this calamity, renounced Judaism, and embraced the Christian faith.

Socrates[†] also tells us of a Jew at Constantino-ple, "who had been paralytic for many years, and in vain had used the help of physicians. Expecting to recover the use of his limbs by the virtue of Christian baptism, he applied to Atticus the bishop for this sacrament. The patriarch caused him to be instructed and baptized: And he no sooner came out of the font, than he found himself cured. Many Gentiles were so struck with this cure, that they received the Christian faith, and were baptized: But the Jews, though fond of miracles, persevered in their infidelity." Whether the historian hath been too credulous in this point or not, I shall not determine; only we have a more sure word of prophecy to confirm the Christian faith, to which we shall do well to take heed.

In the same age we may find in the east several examples of the tumultuous disposition of the Jews, particularly at Alexandria in Egypt, where there were reckoned a hundred thousand of that nation, who equalled the heat of the climate in their tempers. Commotions frequently happened between them and the Christians, which seldom ended without bloodshed. Saturdays were noted as so many days of battle: There being then theatrical shews in that city, the Jews chose rather to be

[†] Socrates, Hist. Eccl. lib. 7 cap. 4.

be present at them, than to be observing their devotions in the synagogue, spending their time in idleness and debauchery. Upon one of these days, Orestes the governor of the city came to the theatre, to make some regulations concerning the public games⁵. At the same time Hierax a schoolmaster was present. He was a hearer and flatterer of Cyrillus the bishop, who taught the people to applaud him when he was preaching. The Jews seeing this man upon the theatre, cried out against him as coming to insult them. The governor did not love him, thinking the bishop by his advice assumed too much power; and therefore he seized Hierax, and publicly scourged him. Cyril not bearing that his friend should be so abused, blamed the Jews as the cause of the whole disorder. But they despised the bishop, and even resolved to massacre the Christians. In order to this end, they ran through the streets of the city in the night time, crying out that the principal church of Alexandria was on fire. Upon which the Christians ran almost naked to extinguish the imaginary flames; and the Jews having agreed on a sign to know one another by, killed them as fast as they came. Cyril having notice of this murder, with a great multitude attending him, rushed in upon the synagogues, plundered and destroyed them, with many of the Jewish houses, driving the circumcised quite out of the city. Orestes the governor being highly displeased with this conduct, and that such a multitude of Jews, whose predecessors had inhabited that city since the

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time

⁵ Socrates, Hist. Eccl. lib. 7. cap. 13, 14, 15.

time of Alexander the Great, should be now driven away, sent complaints to the emperor's court at Constantinople: And on the other hand Cyril sent information of the insolence of the Jews, which had occasioned all this tumult; and in the mean time, with the gospels in his hand, offered to be reconciled to the governor, whom he found inflexible in his resentments. Upon this five hundred monks came down in arms from the mountains of Nitria, and attacked the governor as he was going to his coach with a thousand reproaches, calling him Heathen and other names. It was in vain for him to cry out he was a Christian, baptized at Constantinople; for they straight fell upon him with a shower of stones, wounded him in the head, and covered him with blood; and he would have perished, if the people had not run to his assistance. Ammonius, one of the rioters, was seized, and tormented to death; an information was sent of the whole affair to the court, and in the mean time Cyril caused carry the body of Ammonius into one of the Christian churches, where he praised him as a martyr. In another tumult, Hypatia, the daughter of Theon the philosopher, a learned woman, who taught a Platonic school at Alexandria, was fallen upon as a friend and informer of Orestes the governor, and miserably destroyed. These things were done in the fourth year of Cyril's patriarchate, in the year of our Lord 415. Upon the whole, as I cannot with Mr. Toland, in his *Hypatia*^b, allow that this should be improven against the Christian religion, which is *pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be intreated, full of mercy*

^b Printed at London, 1720.

ey and good fruits; so, on the other hand, I cannot vindicate the Jews who occasioned these commotions, nor Cyril, who ought not to have praised a seditious monk, nor to have punished, robbed, nor expelled the Jews out of the city, who were not under his jurisdiction. When ecclesiastics begin to meddle in civil affairs, which do not belong to them, they ruin their own reputation, and bring reproach upon religion.

Leaving the east, if we take a view of the state of the Jews in the western empire in the fifth century, we may find the government of the emperor Honorius so disturbed with insurrections and tyrants, that he had little leisure to think upon this people: Only he would not give any new encouragements to this religion, and therefore forbade the building of synagogues, and deprived the Jews of the privileges of being officers in the militia, or agents to raise taxes in the provinces, or purveyors of bread for magazines and armies, or couriers for princes, which trusts they had formerly exercised, as they do at present in many states abroad. He more severely restrained the sect of the *Coelicolæ*, or worshippers of heaven, as they were called, who began to appear in his reign. Some contend that they were Jews; others, that they were schismatics from the Christian church, who impugned the sacraments, with the worship and veneration of God, very like the Donatists in *Afric*. They continued but a short time, and are but little known. Honorius, by a law, bearing date when himself was the eighth time, and Theodosius the third time consuls, (that is, in the year of our Lord 409) ordered, "That the *Coelicolæ*, in the limits of one year, should return to the church,

church, to the worship and veneration of God, as became Christians¹; otherwise they should be animadverted upon conformable to the laws against heretics." In the time of this emperor, who died in the year of our Lord 422, the Jews were so powerful at Port-Mahon, that they arrived at the honour of counts of the empire, and to enjoy civil dignities.

Valentinian III. who succeeded Honorius, came to be emperor when he was but a boy. When he was of age he confirmed the Jews at Rome, and in the rest of the empire under his obedience, in the privileges they had formerly possessed, and continued their synagogues that had been built in the preceding reigns; but at the same time he opposed innovations; and understanding that the Jews were building a temple, he caused it to be pulled down, and fined the undertaker. When the western empire changed its masters, by the Goths seizing on Italy, the Jews still found protection from these barbarous kings. Theodorick, king of the Ostrogoths in Italy, defended them against the insults of the people and church-men: He often represented to them their excessive love of riches, while by denying our Saviour they lost eternal happiness; but would never compel them to embrace Christianity by violence. He maintained their cause against the citizens of Genoa, and permitted them to re-build their synagogue there, provided² that they added no new ornaments that were not therein before. Thus the Jewish affairs concluded in the fifth century, within the Roman empire.

If

¹ Cod Theod. lib. 16. tit. 8. l. 18.² Cassiodor lib. 2. cap. 27.

If we return to look into the state of the Jews in the remoter provinces of the east at the same time, there we may find their academies flourishing under the conduct of R. Asce¹, compiler of the Talmud of Babylon. This city was the place of his nativity, but he taught at Sora. He was elected president of the academy in the fourteenth year of his age: His electors seem to have done him a greater honour than they did to themselves, by giving a child a trust of their traditions and religion. They give him great encomiums, "for with him," say they, "was found the law, devotion, humility, and magnificence, four things never meeting together in one person but in himself." He invented a new method of instruction, for instead of fixing his disciples constantly to the college, and reading them lectures all the year over, he only did it in the months of February and August, giving his scholars a treatise to read at home in the rest of the year. At their return they gave account of their proficiency, were examined, disputed in his presence, and afterwards he removed the difficulties that occurred to them by the decisions of preceding doctors. Ten persons were seated over against him, seven whereof were called *Princes of the Crowns*, whose office it was to paraphrase upon the dictates of their master, and to repeat them to the scholars, whose number amounted to 2400. These that distinguished themselves by their diligence, were praised and rewarded. The president made a collection of all the subjects that had been handled, and from this the

¹ Juchasin, p. 124. Bartolocci bibl. Rabbinica, tom. 1.

the Babylonian Talmud was composed. Asce having taught in this manner sixty years, published a collection of his decisions; but he died in the year of our Lord 427, before he had finished his design. The Jews make Morimar his successor; others say that the feet of R. Hovna hastened, that is, this master was made president of the academy of Sora in R. Asce's place: His son Thobiomi ascended the throne of his father in the year 455, and governed thirteen years, during which this nation enjoyed so great tranquillity that they called this doctor their *daily prosperity*. This is Rabbinical stile, to give great ideas of their masters, caressing them with magnificent titles, though they had been teachers or only ushers of a school, and to call their scholars *Princes of the Crowns*, because they had been in the uppermost class: And it is no wonder that other historians mind nothing of such petty teachers. The finishing of the Talmud was interrupted by R. Asce's death, and especially by a persecution which lasted seventy-three years, which was so violent, that the Sabbath was taken away, that is, the celebration thereof was forbidden, the synagogues were shut up^m, the holy houses were given to the Magi, and the principal doctors of the nation were made prisoners. Amimar Mar, Asce's disciple, and Huna his son, prince of the captivity, suffered courageously; but the youth more addicted to the pleasures of life deserted their religion, so as Israel was in great affliction towards the end of the fifth century: but they resumed courage soon afterwards. The

^m Ganz Tsemach David, p. 121.

The Talmud was accomplished about the year 500, and it was dispersed over all the nation; which agreed that no addition nor diminution should be made to it for the future.

§ 8. The sixth century commenced with the persecutions which the ten tribes suffered in the east. Cavade the Persian, a violent and haughty prince, who could not bear any religion but his own, caused many Christians to be ham-strung^a. He designed to have forced the Iberians to abandon Christianity; but they submitted to the Romans to be protected against his cruelties. We must not then wonder that he tormented the Jews in his empire; and to this may be ascribed the frequent alterations which happened among the princes of the captivity; for in less than six years we find four of these pretended princes succeeding one another^b. The persecution continued during the whole reign of Cavade, which was thirty years. Chosroes the Great was not more favourable to them than his father, though they had endeavoured to purchase his favour by betraying the emperor Justinian. He had sent ambassadors to negotiate a peace with the Persian; but the Jews told Chosroes, that if he would continue the war, they would furnish him with fifty thousand men in Judea: He accepted their offer; but they being unable to perform what they had promised, were put to great hardships in Persia^c. Chosroes shut up all their academies, and we do not find that there was then any prince of the captivity, since

Zutra

^a Theophanes Chronicon, p. 137, 145. ad annum Christi 512. Procopius de bello Persico, lib. I. cap. 12. ^b Ganz Tsemach David. ^c Theophanes, p. 152.

Zutra the second had been obliged to retire to Judea, where he lived in a mean condition, far below what he would have enjoyed at Babylon if he had been suffered there. Hormisdas III. restored them the liberty they had lost; for the academy of Pundebita was opened, and the doctors called *Gaons*, or Excellents, appeared. This prince reigned only twelve years; his rebellious subjects took him prisoner, and his own son Chosroes II. deprived him of his life by bastinado. Varama, who had been his father's enemy, expelled this young prince out of Persia, having defeated his army. He was obliged to throw himself into the hands of the Romans. Mauritius, then emperor of Constantinople, lent him troops and officers, by whose assistance he several times fought and at length overcame Varama, who had got a considerable party in the state, and behaved himself with great bravery. The Jews were in the interest of this usurper. "This faithless, restless, imperious, jealous, covetous, and implacable nation, saith a Greek historian^a, was then so powerful in Persia, as to raise the people against their princes, and to fortify the rebels, because they had amassed prodigious wealth, and were prodigiously multiplied." Chosroes gaining the victory, revenged this treachery with their blood. Those of Antioch, a Syrian city built by Chosroes' father, fell first into the hands of a Roman general, who put abundance of them to the sword, destroyed others by different punishments, and reduced the rest to a miserable slavery. But Chosroes

^a Theophilus Simocatta, lib. 5. cap. 7.

roes being settled in his throne, was reconciled to them, and employed them to serve his own designs. This prince, who delighted in war, gave it out that he took arms to revenge the death of Mauritius his benefactor, upon Phocas, who had killed him and made himself master of his empire. Thus a heathenish king detested the injustice, murder and usurpation practised by a Christian, and which Pope Gregory the Great stirred up and praised. The Persian broke into Syria and Judea, where he made terrible execution. He returned again in the reign of the emperor Heraclius, about the year of our Lord 615^r. He seems to have had a correspondence with the Jews; for upon his being master of Jerusalem, he delivered to their hands all the Christian prisoners, whom they bought to satisfy their hatred, by unmercifully murdering them; for it is said ninety thousand persons perished by their hands on this occasion.

If we look to the state of the Jews in the Roman empire in the sixth century, we may observe that the emperor Justinian took pleasure in making decisions and laws concerning religion. John the schoolman, in his reign, made a collection of edicts called Nomocanon, which was to serve as a rule for bishops. The Christians complain that he abused his power against the church, and reproached the bishops for suffering him to do it. The Jews have no less ground of complaint; for he enacted laws and executed them by military force against them. Procopius^r says, that he forbade them to celebrate their passover on a day different

^r Theophanes, p. 252.

^r Hist. arcana, cap. 28. p. 82.

ferent from the Christians; but their calculations differing, (for the Jews religiously observing the fourteenth day of the moon, the feast rarely happened on the same day) this then seemed to be a depriving them of liberty to keep it at all, especially since he amerced those in great fines who did eat the paschal lamb. He also prohibited magistrates to receive the testimony of Jews against Christians, and deprived the former of their natural right in making wills and donations. There were none but labourers among the Samaritans whose children were allowed to inherit their father's goods. Some add, that he ordered their children to be catechised from two years old and upwards, the more effectually to advance their conversion; but this is not among Justinian's novels. Finally, he deprived them of the public exercise of their religion in Africa; for he gave orders to the Præfect of the Prætorium there, "To suffer no Heretics to baptise, to shut up the synagogues, or to change them into Christian churches, and forbidding the Jews to meet in caves, and perform service after their way, because the impious should not be suffered to do holy acts of religion." This reason of the edict seems absurd. However, hence we learn, that the Jews were then in a low case in several parts of the empire. The law was executed at Borium, a city of Africa, which bounded Pentapolis on the west side. Here the Jews for some time lived peaceably, because no imperial collector came thither to gather taxes; and there they had a stately temple, the

the foundation whereof they referred to the reign of Solomon^u, signifying that they had a settlement there for a long time. Justinian undertook the conversion of that place as well as of Aigula, where heathenism still subsisted. He succeeded in his design; the Jews and Heathens embraced Christianity; the synagogue or temple became a church, and the emperor caused the city to be walled, to make it more safe. Evagrius relates^x some stories of miraculous-like conversions made about the year of our Lord 530, by one Simeon of Emesa, a man who behaved not with the rules of common prudence: But since learned men question the reality of the facts, I shall not insist on them. In the same reign of Justinian, the Jews made several insurrections, of which one was caused by a false Messiah, named Julian, who appeared in Palestine, and deluded the people by the title of a conqueror. He stirred up the credulous mob to arm themselves and fall unexpectedly upon the Christians so as to commit a great slaughter. The emperor's troops ran to the relief of the oppressed; and in a little time dispersed the rebels, who wanted experience. Their leader was taken and put to death, which ended the affair. There was another disturbance in the year 555 at Cæsarea, where the Samaritans and Jews, though enemies to one another, united against the Christians in that city; they pulled down the churches, murdered many, and killed the governor in his palace, whose wife escaping, informed the emperor, who gave speedy^y orders to Adamantius his deputy in those

^u Procopius de ædificiis, lib 5 cap 2.
cap 34, 35, 36.

^x Evagrii hist. Eccles. lib 4.

^y Cedrenus, p 326.

those parts, to take cognizance of the affair, and punish the guilty. In prosecution of which orders, the Jews being convicted of cruel violence, the deputy confiscated the estates of the rich, put to flight a great number of the mutineers, who had a share in the action, and took off the heads of others. The execution was so bloody, as it made all the Jews of that country to tremble, and retained the seditious in obedience.

In Italy the Jews declared most loudly against Justinian and Belisarius, when he besieged Naples. This famous general having recovered Africa to the emperor's obedience, and vanquished the Vandals, in the triumph decreed for him at Constantinople for these great victories, brought out the sacred vessels of the temple at Jerusalem, which Titus had carried to Rome, and Gezeric had carried away when he plundered that great city. This sight, which revived the remembrance of the taking of Jerusalem, and the ruin of its temple, disturbed the Jews at Constantinople; so that one of them cried out^a, "These precious things cannot be preserved in any other place than in that where Solomon consecrated them; for this reason Gezeric took Rome, and the Romans seized the country of the Vandals. This being reported to the emperor, he believing the Jewish prophet, sent off these sacred vessels to the temple of the Christians at Jerusalem." But they are not now to be found, as hath been formerly observed^a. Belisarius, upon carrying the war into Italy, besieged Naples with great vigour; and the Jews valiantly

^a Procopius de bello Vandalico, lib. cap. 9 p. 255. ^a See page 72, 73.

antly defended that part of the city that lay towards the sea; and being persuaded that they could have no quarters, since they were the principal cause of the resistance, they fought like desperate men till the city was taken, and then most of them were put to the sword^b. Justin succeeded his uncle Justinian, ascending the throne in the year of our Lord 565. Historians say^c, That he bought a fine synagogue of the Jews at Constantinople, and turned it to a Christian church. Mauritius came to be emperor in the year 586, under him the Jews enjoyed tranquillity and ease at Constantinople: Perhaps the avarice of this prince contributed to it; for his temper enabled them to purchase their peace and liberty, without any great difficulty.

§ 9. Mahomet that grand impostor appeared at the beginning of the seventh century: The Jews and heretical Christians are accused to have furnished him with that system of his religion, which was afterwards diffused by force of arms over several parts of the world. But I do not go upon the life and actions of Mahomet, nor upon the evidences of the impiety of his religion, which I have discoursed of in another essay^d. Now I only notice some things which concern the history of the Jews. They were very powerful in Arabia, particularly in Hegiasa, which name signifies separation, because it separates between the Desert and the happy Arabia, without belonging to either. There the Jews had fortresses, castles, armies and captains, when Mahomet laid the

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foundation

^b Procopius de bello Gothico, lib. 1. cap. 8, 9. 10. ^c Theophanes ad annum 569. Paulus Diaconus, lib. 18. ^d Hist of Propagation, Chap. I.

foundation of his empire. They being dazzled with the victories he boasted of, and with his pretences to be a Messiah, followed him^c; yea, the Arabians boast that the Jews sent twelve persons of their body to instruct him in their religion, and to join with him in composing his Alcoran, though I cannot easily reconcile this with the Mahometan's pretensions, that this book was dictated to their prophet by the angel Gabriel; and indeed, it is no great honour to their prophet to be the author of so confused a medley as is there contained.

The flight of Mahomet from Mecca to Medina, gives the Arabians a new period for calculating time, which coincides in its commencement with the 622d year of the Christian Æra. After this they made great conquests; and the Jews in the east universally changed their masters. Omar the second calif took Damascus, notwithstanding all that Heraclius the Greek emperor could do for its relief. He conquered Syria, and entered Jerusalem, where he pulled down the Christian temples, and set up Mahometan mosques. About the 653d year of the Christian Æra, he subdued the Persians, having routed Isdigerdes in several battles. He pushed his conquests into Egypt, where he reduced Alexandria to his obedience. Other califs extended the Saracen dominions into other parts. But without enlarging on their history, let us consider the conduct of the Jews in this great revolution. It is asserted by their own historians^d, That they rejoiced at the fall of the Jewish monarchy, and the

^c Bibl. Rabinica, tom. 5. ^d Theophanes ad A. D. 637. Paulus Diaconus, lib. 18. p. m. 390. ^e Solomon ben Virga.

the ruin of the Persian empire, because Isdigerdes and other princes of that race had persecuted them with great cruelty. Their synagogues were given to the Magi, their academies shut up, and many of their great men cut off: Yea, they are accused not only of rejoicing at the Saracen conquests, but also of associating with these infidels^h, of taking on their mark, and encouraging them to carry arms into the empire. Bede complains of itⁱ, and compares it to the friendship between Herod and Pontius Pilate; though one would think the Saracens had inclination enough to enlarge their dominions by oppression and plundering their neighbours, and did not need any others to prompt them to it. It is true the Jews highly extol the humanity of the Mahometans, who condemned the violence offered to conscience, and restored them to the free exercise of their religion. They lived peaceably under the first califs, and had their academies open; for Chanina governed that of Nahardea, while Mahomet was founding his empire. Chana, one of the excellents, taught at Pundebita, in the reign of Omar^k; Mar Rabba another excellent succeeded him, while Chanina Surfeus, the son of Calipta, taught at Sora. They gained by the disputes which the Saracens had among themselves, and flourished in Egypt, where the Ommiades had made themselves masters.

Though the Mahometans had made great conquests in Syria, Egypt, Persia, Arabia, and in the eastern part of the world in the seventh century,

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yet

^h Paulus Diaconus, lib. 28. ⁱ Beda in Luc. 23. ^k Ganz Tsemach, p. 122, 123.

yet the Roman empire still subsisted at Constantino-
ple; and if we look into the state of the Jews in these
parts, we may find that in the beginning of this age,
when Phocas mounted the throne, by assassinating
his master Mauritius, and murdering his children,
the Jews in Syria finding themselves powerful e-
nough at Antioch, laid hold of this opportunity,
and armed against the Christians. The sedition
was general; they fought resolutely on both sides:
But the Jews being the stronger party, killed a
great many Christians, and burnt others in their
houses which they had set on fire^t. Anastasius
the bishop of that place was dragged from his
seat along the streets, and after a thousand indig-
nities done him, they threw him in the fire and
burnt him. Phocas, tho' a tyrant, would not
pardon such barbarity. He sent Bonosus his lieu-
tenant to Antioch, who not being able to persuade
the Jews to lay down their arms, defeated them
by his troops with a great slaughter; the prison-
ers were executed, maimed, and banished the
city.

About the year 606, the Jews found means to
re-establish themselves in the isle of Cyprus, where
they became numerous and formidable, notwith-
standing the emperor Trajan's edict about 488
years before this^l, forbidding them, so much as
travellers, to touch that island. Leontius, bishop of
Naples, published an exhortation to reduce them
into the Christian church, of which we have a frag-
ment remaining in the acts of the second council
of Nice^m: But I will not affirm that it is genuine,
since

^t Nicephorus Calistus hist. Eccles. lib. 18. cap. 44.

^l See page 82.

^m Binii Concilia, tom. 3. p. m. 566.

since none was ever so bold as to publish false pieces as that council, their only aim being to gather all that they could, right or wrong, for their Dagon of image-worship. Gregory the Great was for gaining the Jews by gentle easy methods, as giving them pensions and prefermentsⁿ. The Jews praised him for his lenity; but I do not find that his proposals had great success.

The emperor Heraclius came to the throne about the year of our Lord 610. He changed the countenance of the empire and of the neighbouring kingdoms towards the Jews, by declaring himself their enemy. Coming to Tiberias, he found there one Benjamin a Jew, so rich, as to have been able to supply the army and court with provisions out of his own stock; but being a mortal enemy to the Christians, he often embroiled and persecuted them. Heraclius being informed of the whole, and not loving the nation, notwithstanding the services that he had received from this man, cited him before him, and asked the reason of his unjust proceedings against the Christians? To which he answered, "That he hated them, because they were enemies to his religion". But the emperor so powerfully exhorted, and so effectually convinced him of his error, that he was persuaded to be baptised: And to punish the whole nation, he banished them from Jerusalem, forbidding them to approach within three miles of that place. The prediction of a soothsayer gave him greater provocation, who told him, "That the empire would be ruined by a
U 3 circumcised

ⁿ Gregorii epist. lib. 4. Indict 13. epist. 50. & lib. 1. Ep. 34 & lib. 7. Ep. 5. ^o Theophanis Chronicon, p. 273.

circumcised nation ;” and indeed the Saracens, who were circumcised as well as the Jews, overturned the empire.

Heraclius not content to persecute them in his own territories, carried his zeal to the neighbouring kingdoms ; for he wrote to France to oblige them to be converted ; and addressed himself also to Sisebut king of Spain, a prosperous prince, who had gained many victories over the Romans, and extended his conquests as far as Portugal. The affairs of the empire were then in so wretched a posture, that this emperor was glad to make proposals of peace to him ; one of which was, “ That the Jews should be expelled out of Spain ;” which Sisebut granted, forcing them to depart from the dominions of the Goths, or quit their religion. They addressed the court weeping^p, and offered money to the ministers to stop the persecution. But the king told them, that he was obliged to make them be baptised ; and if they were masters, they would not fail to force the Christians to embrace their religion. At last, weary of reasoning, he made the principal men among them prisoners, where they languished a long time. Some abandoned their religion to avoid punishment, others retired into France, where Heraclius caused them to be prosecuted. Isidorus of Sevil^q, one of Sisebut’s great admirers, condemned his zeal, who, instead of imprinting faith on the hearts of this people, commanded it under severe punishment. The same Isidore, at the head of the fourth council of Toledo, held in the year
of

^p Solomon ben Virga Schevet Jehuda. ^q Isidori Chron Gothorum, p. 202.

of our Lord 632, made several regulations concerning the Jews; for there we find it enacted, "That no body should be forced to believe, since God hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will, he hardeneth; that if any Jew vote against or condemn the Christian faith, he shall be secluded from the Christian church. Jews who have made a profession of Christianity, if they practise circumcision, or other Jewish rites, shall be corrected by the Pope's authority. If the children of Jews be baptised, they shall be separated from the company of their parents: Nor must their baptised children be secluded from their inheritance, even though the parent should be an apostate; for the son must not bear the iniquity of the father;" with other canons of the like nature; for "they reprobate the testimony of the Jews, who prevaricate in the faith;" and decree, "That the Jews may not enjoy public offices, nor keep Christian servants." The Sixth council of Toledo, under king Chintila, in the year 638, in opposition to the Jews, "Commend the king, who was inflamed with a persecuting zeal, and bless God for having given him a soul so full of wisdom, and so inflamed with the ardour of faith. They ratified the law that this prince had made to banish all the Jews out of his kingdom: And finally, that no king for the future should ascend the throne, till he had taken an oath never to violate this law, and threaten him with Anathema maranatha if he broke it." It seems that Isidore of Sevil was now dead, or that

¹ Concilium Toletanum 4tum, Can. 55.—65. Vide Caranzam in summa, fol. m. 281. ² Bini Concilia, tom. 2 parte 2. p. 375. Act. 3.

that the prelates were very inconstant, leaping from moderation into violence. The Visigoth kings authorised the severity by a law, giving this for their reason, "That the violent take the kingdom of heaven by force." The eighth council of Toledo, in the year 653, made further decrees concerning them; and Julian of Toledo, finding that the Jews who turned Christians only dissembled, wrote against them, proving that the Messiah promised in the Old Testament is come. He asked them, "Where was their promised land, since they are driven out of it? If we look, said he, for the kingdom of the Jews, there is no such thing. We look for their altar, and there is none to be found, for their priesthood, and discover it no where. Where are the sacrifices? No body answers, because all these things are abolished, as Daniel foretold."

They were not much easier in France than in Spain: But they commonly brought the miseries upon themselves. When this kingdom changed her masters, the Romans being expelled, and the Visigoths depressed by the Franks, the Jews laid hold on this revolution, to make their way into several places where they had no settlements before; for after Clovis I. kings and councils in France made many regulations concerning them. Lunel, a city in the neighbourhood of Montpellier, and Nismes became one of the most famous academies of the Jews in the west. Benjamin of Tudela affirms, that the doctors maintained their scholars all the time they staid in the college, and supplied them with clothes. If it be true, they were very liberal. It is said among them, that
Solomon

Solomon the son of Isaac, or Jarki, was from this place called the Lunatic; others affirm that he was of Troyes in Champagne. The Christians do not like his commentaries, because he hath filled them with Talmudic notions. Dagobert king of France, about the year of our Lord 630, at the desire of Heraclius emperor at Constantinople, declared he would not suffer the Jews in his kingdom, unless they became Christians¹. The king, notwithstanding his debauches, embraced this easy occasion to please the people, and to give a testimony of his zeal. The clergy approved the resolution; and it was executed with a great deal of rigour. Some suffered the hardships of a second flight; for they had come into France to avoid Sisebut's persecution in Spain: Others yielded to the temptation, and preferred dissimulation to banishment. The sequel of their history we shall have afterwards.

¹ *Gesta Dagoberti*, p. 380.

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 CHAP. IX.

The History of the Dispersions of the Jews in the East and West, from the eighth to the eighteenth Century, with some Occurrences to the present Time.

THE conversion of the king of Cozar makes one of the most considerable events in the Jewish history. They place this prince in the eighth century, and tell, that after he had examined all religions, he determined himself in favour of that of Moses. The dialogue pretended to have been published between him and a Jew hath been printed and published by the learned John Buxtorf the son, in Hebrew, with a Latin version and notes, at Basil, in the year 1660. The author of the book was one R. Jehudah Hallevi, the son of Saul Aben Tybon*. Hallevi was a Spanish poet, who composed this dialogue in Arabic, about the year of our Lord 1140, from whence it was translated into Hebrew. After writing the book, he resolved to make his journey into the Holy Land. Upon sight of Jerusalem he tore his clothes, and continued his pilgrimage bare-footed, singing a song of his own making, with these words of the Psalmist,

* Liber Cosri, ab initio. Ganz Tsemach, p. m. 136.

Psalmist, *Thy servants think upon the stones thereof*; till a Mahometan, taking him for a madman, killed him in the fiftieth year of his age.

The book of Cosri, now before me, explains several articles of the Jewish religion, and hath several digressions on their theology, philology, philosophy, Cabbalistic and other affairs, in 386 pages, and is not unprofitable to those who desire to be acquainted with their matters. But the question is, Where the kingdom of Cozar lies, and if the facts there related concerning it be real or not? Buxtorf, after a large inquiry into this point, and after supposing that it may be in Persia, taken from Cosroes, which name was borne by several kings of that country, adds^b, "But it is a wonder, that a kingdom said to be so large, so flourishing and rich, should be known by no seafaring man, no merchant, no traveller, who have seen and described all parts of the habitable world. If the emperors of Constantinople have had so great commerce with this kingdom, if their ambassadors were sent to it, if it had wars with its neighbours, or assisted them against the Turks and Saracens; why do no annals make mention thereof? The Jews need not glory in this pretended kingdom, as if the scepter of Judah did subsist there; for, even according to this author, the subjects of the king of Cozar were not Jews, nor of the posterity of the ten tribes, but proselytes of the posterity of Japheth." Yea, there is no evidence of the reality of the fact, save tradition without proof, as may further appear from the

^b In præfatione ad librum Cosri.

the book itself, where the sum of the story is: "That the king of Cozar, about the year 740, resolved to acquaint himself with all religions, in order to chuse the best, being so determined by a dream. He was a devout prince, and sacrificed to false gods, with an upright heart. But an angel advertised him, that his divotions were not acceptable; whereupon, to please the Deity, he held conferences with a philosopher, a Christian and a Mahometan, all in a very little time, and in very few words. Disliking all these religions, he sent for a Jew, for whom at first he had a vast contempt. But Sangari (for this was the Rabbins name who disputed with the king) soon persuaded him that Judaism was the best of all religions. He insisted much upon the preference God gave the Jews, who can no more be compared with other people, how devout soever these be, than a dead image with a living body. He maintained that Judea was superior to all other countries in the world, because Adam was created in it, and buried there in Abraham's sepulchre." This author must have been ill acquainted with the situation of the terrestrial paradise, to place our first parents in Judea. However he adds, "That the dispute that arose between Cain and Abel proceeded from their desire each of them to have the Holy Land for their share. Cain went out from the face of God, that is, from Judea. By these and the like arguments, the Rabbins convinced the king of Cozar; who departed privately, with the general of his army, and arrived

ed at certain mountains in a desert near the sea ; where the night surprizing them, they found Jews keeping the Sabbath ; before whom the king and his general abjured their own religion, and being circumcised, returned to their capital. Thereafter the whole nation embraced Judaism."

This story was told two hundred and fifty years after the fact happened, to Chasdai a Spanish Rabin ; and long after that was written, or rather invented by Judah Hallevi. What can be liker a fable ? And the misfortune of all is, that all pains to find out the kingdom are fruitless. Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew who travelled over the world in the twelfth century to try out his own nation, could discover no footsteps of this kingdom ; and no other traveller could ever get a sight of it.

§ 2. To find out what really happened to the Jews in the eighth and ninth centuries, we may observe their state in the dominions of the Saracens, which were by this time very far extended. Abdalmelec was calif of the Saracens about the year 705. He is said to have had such a stinking breath, as to kill flies with it ; and his avarice was so exorbitant, that nothing would content it. He was a violent enemy to the sect of Ali, and pushed his conquests as far as Spain, triumphing wherever he carried the terror of his arms. In the height of his victories he preserved a great moderation, neither persecuting Jews nor Christians. He allowed the former their academies and privileges, and would not take from the latter one of their churches at Damascus, which they had refused him, but left them in the peaceable enjoyment thereof. Valid the eldest of sixteen sons succeeded

succeeded his father. Though he reigned but nine years, he conquered many provinces. Spain, Sardinia, with Majorca and Minorca were reduced to his obedience; and his troops penetrated into the Narbonese Gaul. He was so bad a scholar, that he could never learn Arabic; and had so little regard to the Christians, that he erected a monument at Damascus upon the ruins of a church, and built a mosque at Jerusalem^d. Nevertheless, under him and several of the succeeding califs, the Jews enjoyed great tranquillity, particularly in the reign of Almanzor, who was a man of letters, and drew to his court the most learned men of his time. The Jews took advantage of these circumstances to bring their academies into new reputation. R. Joseph and Samuel, the Excellents, presided at Pumbedita. Doræus, another Excellent, with Ananias and Malcha, succeeded them, from the year of our Lord 740 to 770. There were likewise two famous men at the head of the academy of Sora, the one called Judah the son of Nachman, and the other Judah the son of Outhrinus. Some writers assert, that the first of these was author of the book called *the Great Lesson*; which others attribute to Simeon Reiar. It was received with so great applause, that Judah called *the Great Light*, because he was blind, made an abstract thereof; which was approved by another great doctor of the same century, R. Mari, whom they called *the Light of the Eyes*, because he had lost his sight; for under such honourable titles they cover their imperfections.

Giafar

^d Abulpharagius, p. 129. ^e Ganz Tsemach, p. 124, 125.

Giafar a Saracen, surnamed *The Just*, who lived about the 770 year of the Christian *Æra*, heavily afflicted the Jews of Arabia and Persia. He was the sixth of the Imams: So the Mahometans in those parts call their supreme Pontiff, who presides over the mosques; and give him a temporal as well as a spiritual authority. He made an order, "that both Jews and Christians, who turn Mussulmen, should be sole heirs of their family; which law being exactly executed, it caused a great many children to apostatise, that by so doing they might succeed to such estates as they could not obtain in a lawful way. Almanzor died, having reigned twenty-two years. His son Mohadi succeeded in the 777th year of our Lord, and was as liberal as his father was covetous, spending six millions of gold crowns in one pilgrimage to Mecca, having conveyed thither snow and ice, which surprised the inhabitants, who had never seen any before. He obliged the empress Irene to pay him a tribute of seventy thousand gold crowns to be free of the incursions of the Arabians, who gave her troublesome visits even to the gates of Constantinople. He was an enemy to the Jews, compelling them either to embrace his religion, or wear a badge to distinguish them from the Mahometans. He sent Thaseas, one of his captains, with this commission, which he executed with great severity. The Christians boast that they withstood this general, and produce a long catalogue of martyrs who suffered on this occasion: But whether the Jews, who invoke neither saints nor martyrs, were unconcerned to transmit their names to posterity; or whether they were guilty

of

of a weakness common to them, of yielding to avoid persecution, it does not appear by any of their monuments that they stopped the execution of Mohadi's orders. In his reign appeared the impostor Hakem, surnamed *Burka* or *Mask*, who is said to have been a Jew, by birth, or at least he borrowed from them the notion of the Shechinah, or the Divinity resting upon the ancient prophets, pretending that the same rested upon him. With this foolish opinion he deceived a great many, whom he caused wear a white habit to distinguish them from the followers of Ali, who wore black. Having lost one of his eyes in a battle, he used a gilded mask on his face, to conceal the deformity: But his disciples maintained that he did it with the same design as Moses, that he might not dazzle the eyes of beholders with the majesty of his countenance. He had the art, it is said, every night to produce a luminous body like the moon, from the bottom of a well, which diffused its light at the distance of some miles. At last he went into the field at the head of an army: But one of Mohadi's generals pursued him, and he was obliged to retire to a fortress that was almost inaccessible. Finding himself besieged, he poisoned all his associates, and burnt their bodies, and afterwards threw himself into a great tub of aquafortis, in the year of our Lord 779, presuming that it would be believed he was returned to heaven, because his body could not be found. And he maintained the foolish opinion of the transmigration of souls. But a woman who had hid herself to avoid death, **discovered**

[Herbelot, Bibl. Oriental p. 412. Abulpharagius, p. 150.

discovered the secret, and in the aquafortis they found the hair of the impostor unconsumed.

Aaron surnamed *the Just* succeeded to the caliphship after the death of his brother Mohadi, in the 786th year of the Christian *Æra*, and was one of the greatest of the Arabian princes. Charlemagne made an alliance with him, thinking it his interest to secure so powerful a friend in the east, that with the better success he might carry on his conquests in the west. Isaac a Jew was the principal person entrusted with this embassy^s; and the Saracen prince by this new alliance became so bold as to push his conquests near the gates of Constantinople. Under his government the Jews enjoyed so profound a tranquillity, as made their synagogues and academies to flourish. His son Amin succeeded him about the beginning of the ninth century; but was so weak a prince, and so addicted to his pleasures, as to neglect state affairs. His brother Maimoun revolted against him, and was so successful as to ascend the throne in the year of our Lord 827. He was a prince eminent for great actions; and being a lover of learning, endeavoured to bring it into esteem with the Arabians, by causing the best books of the Jews to be translated into that language. This created some trouble to this prince by his own people, who were already uneasy to see their black habits changed into green, the black being the colour of the Abassides, and the green that of the Ommiades, the successors of Ali. Masballa, an eminent Jewish astronomer, appeared at his court with great reputation.

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reputation.

reputation. He had been known before to Almanzor, and had seen seven califs on the throne; but he principally distinguished himself in the reign of Maimoun, who had a great regard for him. In the same reign the famous impostor Moussa, the son of Amram, affected to make a figure, asserting that he was Moses the great Jewish legislator, whom God had miraculously raised from the dead. Finally, The Excellents continued to render famous the academies of Sora and Pundebita. We have a catalogue of the heads of these houses by a Jewish chronologer^a, and I find the same inserted in Hottinger's Ecclesiastic history¹; but as it consists only in a bare list of names we know little of, it is not necessary to insert the same here. Maimoun, when he died, preferred his brother Motassem, to his own son Abbas; and the latter not only took an oath of fidelity to his uncle, but obliged all his party to do the same. Motassem assumed the name of Billah, importing, "a prince preserved by the grace of God." Nathack, who began to reign in the year 841, declared himself openly against the Jews, because they having managed the revenues of his predecessor, he being dissatisfied with their administration, resolved to squeeze great sums out of them; and persecuted them also because they would not receive the Alcoran. Motarkel, who succeeded him in the year 846, declared likewise against the Jews; for he ordered every man of them within his empire to wear a leathern girdle, as a mark of distinction; he excluded them from all offices of

^a Ganz Tsemach David, p. 125 & seq. ¹ Hottingeri Hist. Eccl. part 1. cap. 8 p. 534, & cap. 9. p. 563 & seq.

of the divan and government, by which it seems, they had been admitted to such posts before; he forbade them to have iron stirrups at their saddles, or to ride upon horses, permitting them only the use of asses and mules! Yea, he stigmatized them with marks of infamy; and, which was of the worst consequence, his law spread itself not only through his own, but through neighbouring dominions, and is observed at this day, in many places of the Turkish empire. In the reign of this calif a faction was kindled in of one the Jewish academies. Menachem the son of Joseph, about the year of our Lord 861, one of the Excellents, being sole president at Pundebita, the people gave him a partner called Matthatias. He looking on him as a competitor, could not bear it; and hence violent disputes arose: But at last Menachem carried it. He died two years after, leaving the place and authority to Matthatias, who enjoyed it a longer time. Motarkel the calif became very cruel, tormenting and killing many of his subjects with an iron stove. His vizier died by that engine, and his own son Montasser had a trial of it; who being wearied with these hardships, killed his father: But he was not long gainer by this parricide, being torment by cutting remorses. His brother Mothas was as unfortunate as he; for the Turks and Egyptians revolting from him, tho' under pay, entered into his palace, dragged him from his throne, and put him to death. Mothadi who succeeded him, was soon deprived by Mothamed, a weak man, addicted to pleasures, but governed by his brother and nephew. In his time

Egypt was dismembered from the califfship, and Mothamed died in the year 891.

Having seen the state of the Jews in the dominions of the Saracens during the eighth and ninth centuries, I shall next consider their condition in the Roman empire, and in Italy, Spain, Germany and France during the said period. It is groundless to charge this nation with raising the controversies concerning images, managed at this time with so great warmth, yea, with arms and effusion of blood: But this point of church-history comes not within the compass of my present undertaking. It is more to our purpose to observe, that Leo Isauricus, who reigned at Constantinople from the year 716 to 741, and was a great opposer of image-worship, commanded the Jews and Montagnards or Manichees to embrace Christianity. Upon which many Jews were baptized, and received the Lord's Supper^k. But I fear their conversion was too hypocritical. Nicephorus ascending the imperial throne about the year 800, protected the Jews; and they lived unmolested during his reign. Michael Balbus, or, the Stammerer, coming to the throne in the year 821, was still more favourable to this people than his predecessor. It is even said that he was half a Jew, coming from Amorium, a city of Phrygia, where many Jews had taken sanctuary. Indeed, if we notice the many barbarities, murders and inhuman actions committed among these emperors at Constantinople, even upon one another, about this time and for some following ages,

which

^k Theophanes, p. 327.

which may appear by the Byzantine writers, or even by the continuator of Eachard's Roman history¹, it is no great wonder that such a set of princes could do no great service to any religion. And in these tragical actions this Stammerer had his own share; for he murdered his master Michael Curopalates, and usurped his throne.

In Spain, Roderick the thirty-third king, having ravished Florinda the fair daughter of Count Julian, in revenge of this injury, her father invited the Saracens and Moors from Africa, who landing at the foot of the mountain Calpe, under Turk their captain, gave the name of Gibal-tar, or Gibraltar to that place. They having overcome the Goths about the year of our Lord 712, spread themselves over that whole country, and possessed it for a long time. A Jew called Sere-nus, resolved to take advantage of this revolution, and upon the wars which these governors made an the French in Languedoc², about the year 724: For he pretended to be the Messiah, found abundance of people in Spain ready to believe him, and to follow him into the Holy Land, where he was to establish his empire. Ambisa, who was then governor, made advantage of this desertion, seizing the estates the Jews had abandoned by their folly. Many of these pilgrims died by the way; others of them returned to bewail their loss. In the reign of Moavias, calif of the west, appeared R. Judah, who distinguished himself by his learning; for he published an Arabian dictionary, and translated other books from that

X 3

language

¹ Vol. 4. 5. ² Marca hist. of Hearn, lib. 2. cap. 2. p 137, 138. See Basnage's history of the Jews, Book 7. Chap. 3.

language into Hebrew; which shews that sciences then flourished in the Spanish synagogues, and that the first califs were then favourable to them. From Spain the Saracens made incursions into Languedoc, and making themselves masters of Narbonne came and besieged Tholouse. It is said, the Jews assisted, upon condition that all the Christians in the town should be murdered as soon as it was taken: But M. Bafnage is of opinion^o, that the ground of this story is, that after the Saracens had taken the city, they killed all the inhabitants except the Jews who had called them in, to whom they religiously performed a promise they had made of preserving them.

In France Charlemagne had a great regard for this nation, and restrained none of them in their commerce; they still had a greater interest at the court of Lewis le Debonair, having frequent audiences of him, and so near access to his person, that courtiers and princes of the blood sent them liberal presents for their favour. This emperor gave them liberty to build new synagogues, and granted them very advantageous edicts. So powerful a protection bred jealousy and great disorders in the church of Lyons, of which Agobard then bishop of the place made loud complaints^o; but his remonstrances had no effect. They continued their interest at court in the reign of Charles the Bald, (that is, to the year of our Lord 876.) Sedecias, a famous Jewish impostor, was his physician, and is suspected to have shortened the days of this prince by poison.

§ 3. I

^o See Bafnage's history of the Jews, book, 7. chap. 3. ^o Vide Agobardum de Insolentia Judæorum.

§ 3. I proceed now to consider the state of the Jews in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The tenth age, which is under such discredit among Christians for ignorance, is not so with the Jews; for they boast that they never had such excellent doctors as at that time. They erected a new academy in the east, because these that had subsisted for many ages, were not then sufficient to contain the number of professors and scholars that was requisite. The Arabians applied themselves to learning, and there appeared among them able logicians, skilful physicians, and men cunning in vain astronomical predictions. The Jews imitated them; but their quiet was interrupted by a division that happened between their professors and heads of the captivity, which was attended with very bad consequences; for their academies tumbled down, and the whole nation being expelled the east, was forced to seek a new refuge in Spain, France and other parts of the west. They underwent fresh miseries through the zeal of the Crusades^p, who made it a piece of devotion to massacre the Jews, before they proceeded to conquer Judea out of the hands of the Mahometans.

One David was then prince of the captivity, a haughty man who governed his people in the east with the authority of a sovereign. The Jewish historians complain that his predecessors crouched under the former califs^q; but he recovered all their privileges. Indeed his continuance to act as head of the nation thirty years, and the weakness

^p See of the Crusades, Hist. of Propagation, chap. 6.

^q Ganz Tsemach, p. 130.

ness of the calif Mostader, who was young, and twice deposed by his people, gave him an opportunity to raise himself and affect a stately pride. But he raised divisions in the academy of Pundebita by carrying his authority too high. The Jews had made Misbischer president of their college: David chose another, and the jealousy of these professors, who had different privileges, increased the disorder. This division was violent for five years; and there was no way to appease it, but by forming two different schools in the same place. The college at Sora was fallen from its ancient lustre, so that no body could be found either able or willing to teach in it. David sent for one named Jom Tob, but he being a dull fellow, left the academy as empty as he found it. They were forced to seek out the Rabbi Saadiah to fill the vacancy and draw scholars to the place. He at first discharged his office with good success. One of his principal cares was to cure the nation of the error about the transmigration of souls: This doctrine had been propagated by the Persians all over the east; the Jews were fond of it, and had been so for a long time: However, Saadiah made some progress in reclaiming them from it. But the prince of the captivity desiring him to sign a regulation of his own, he had made against the laws, the doctor refused so unjust a demand. This refusal incensed David: He upbraided Saadiah with ingratitude, and threatened his son with the loss of his head; but the Rabbi advertising his scholars with the insult, they mutinied against David and beat him soundly. The nation divided after the example of its heads, and every one engaged

engaged in a party. The faction of Saadiah prevailed at first so far as to get David deposed, and Joseph his brother proclaimed prince of the captivity; but his authority continued not long. David, supported by his creatures, resumed the government, constrained Saadiah to fly and seek a place of retirement, in which he continued seven years, and there composed his works. He came out of it at last to be reconciled to David, and had the good fortune to survive him, and obtain the peaceable possession of his old academy. We may learn from this, that the power of the professor of the college was almost equal with that of the prince, since the latter could enact no laws but what were signed by the former; and their frequent contests and insurrections against one another proved the forerunners of their ruin.

The Jews were in so flourishing a condition in the east, about the year of our Lord 960, that a nine hundred thousand of them are reckoned in the city Pheruts Schibbur, situate five miles from Babylon. Though I am apt to think this is an hyperbolical way of speaking, frequent among the Jews, since there are few cities in these parts of the world that contain so many inhabitants, far less such a number of Jews. Some authors are of opinion that the name of this city is derived from Sapor II. who took the emperor Valerian prisoner, and treated him cruelly. Others derive the name from one Shiabour, or Sapour a Rabbin, who founded an academy there. Sherira, who was president of this school, made it to flourish till

till the year 997. He was a mortal enemy to the Christians, and particularly to the monks; for he wrote against them, and called them forgers. Finding himself overladen with years, he resigned his place to his son Hay the most excellent of the Excellents. Cader the son of Moctader was then the Saracen calif; he reigned above 40 years, and resolved to give a check to the Jews, who had made too great advantage of the troublous reigns of his predecessors, to usurp an undue authority. Scherira and Hay were both accused as men of wealth and power, who governed the nation, the calif caused put them in prison, fleeced them of their wealth, and caused old Scherira to be hanged. Hay had the good fortune to escape, and went on with his lectures in the academy till the year 1037, being the last of the Excellents. After Hay's death, Ezekias was elected head of the captivity. His government was short and miserable; for after two years therein the calif arrested him with all his family, and put them to death, except two sons who fled into Spain. The academies were shut up, and the learned obliged to seek a sanctuary in the west, whither the persecuted people followed them. In the time of this Ezekias, the schism arose between the children of Asher and Naphtali (as they are commonly called) and are thought to be the first Masoreths. Persecution against the Jews in the east being begun, it never ceased till their affairs were quite ruined. The house of the Mahometan Abassides, who had always favoured the Jews, being sunk from its authority,

rity, the sultan Gela le Doulat, who reigned by the name of Cajem, resolved to extirpate them; and to that purpose he shut up their academies, which have never been opened since, and killed the prince of the captivity with his family: The people also suffered extremely. In a word, the persecution was so bloody, as to reduce them to a handful of men, to disperse them into the desarts of Arabia, and to drive them into the western world. The sceptre many ages before this was departed from Judah, and the law-giver from between his feet; but when the heads of their academies are abolished, and the power given by the califs to the princes of the captivity extinct in the person of Ezekias the son of David, as happened in the year of our Lord 1039, even by the acknowledgment of the Jewish historians, there can be no longer any pretence that this nation hath either sceptre or law-giver remaining.

They underwent a fresh persecution in the reign of Hakem the third calif, of the house of the Fathemites in Egypt. He declared himself an enemy both to the Jews and Christians; for he ordered the former to wear a mark of distinction, whereby they might be known, caused their synagogues to be demolished, and forced them by bastinadoes to quit their religion: But being inconstant, he quickly changed his conduct, and permitted them to return to their old way, and died in the year of our Lord 1026.

As to the Jews in the west during the 10th and 11th centuries, the divisions and wars that troubled

* Solomon ben Virga Schevet Jehudah, p. 307. Bartolocci Bibl. Rabbinica, tom. 2. p. 385.

troubled Spain in the first of these ages, gave the Jews a great deal of rest and tranquillity. They were also supported by the authority and number of the Rabbins, which was considerable, especially about the year of our Lord 967: For besides those who were natives of Spain, they were furnished with a famous one, commonly named *Moses clad with a sack*. This man having left the east, was taken by the privateers, and carried with his son to the coast of Spain, where he was ransomed by the Jews of Corduba, without any knowledge of his merit. He putting himself in the corner of one of their schools, in the habit of a lay-beggar, wrapped in a sack to cover his nakedness, disputed so profoundly on all questions that offered, that the president of the school, full of admiration, yielded his place to him; and he was created judge of the nation with a liberal salary. But having a greater inclination to die in his own country, he resolved to return thither, which the calif would not allow him for a reason of state: For at that time the Talmud was very little known even among the Jews in Spain; and therefore, when any controversy arose, the synagogues sent their deputies to Bagdat to have it decided. Hence the prayers which the Spanish synagogues repeated in the days of affliction, and particularly on the day of expiation, were composed by Armistim, head of one of the academies at Babylon. Hakem, calif in Spain, not being pleased with his subjects passing so frequently to the east, where the Abassides, who were enemies to his house, reigned, was overjoyed, hearing that Moses clad with a sack, taught the Talmud to the Spaniards,

Spaniards, and therefore detained him within his dominions to the day of his death, which was about the year of our Lord 997, and he was succeeded by Enoch his son. Haschem the second king of Corduba, to prevent pilgrimages to Bagdat and Jerusalem, caused the Talmud to be translated into Arabic. R. Joseph, Moses's disciple performed this work "with good success, but grew so haughty upon it, that he could not bear that Enoch should be preferred to him as Judge of the nation. The synagogues engaged in the difference; but Enoch had the more numerous party, who excommunicated Joseph; and he appealed to the king, who would not meddle in the affair: And therefore Joseph took the road to Bagdat, where R. Hay refusing to receive him, he staid at Damascus to the day of his death, without being able to obtain a revocation of the sentence pronounced against him.

Divisions among the Saracens in Spain increased in the eleventh century, Alphonso V. king of Castile had consented to call several parties of them in: But he found them such troublesome guests, as to kindle a war in his bosom, and to bring Christianity in his dominions within a hair-breadth of ruin. This made him repent of his folly, and to endeavour to retrieve by his courage what his bad conduct had brought upon him. During these commotions, the affairs of the Jews had a favourable aspect in that country: For R. Samuel Levi became secretary and minister of state to the king of Granada, who afterwards made him prince

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of the nation, about the year of our Lord 1027; and he employed his credit at court to protect his own people. His son succeeded him in these posts about the year 1055: But his riches made him too haughty. An unexpected turn of affairs disturbed the tranquillity of the Jews. Joseph Hallevy, one of their learned men, set up for a converter of the Mahometans, about the year 1064; the translation of the Talmud into Arabic, gave him some hopes of success, but his design miscarried. The king of Granada could not bear this insult of a tolerated religion; and to resent it, he clapped the converter into prison and hanged him. Fifteen hundred Jewish families in Granada suffered very much, and were the more sensible of their hardships, after prosperity had made them rich and powerful. When the Crusades were published in Spain, to recover the Holy Land from the hands of the infidels; these who embarked in this design resolved to put the Jews to the sword before they marched: But Pope Alexander II. prevented the execution of this design in great measure, by writing to the Spanish bishops to hinder the execution of such a bloody project against the Jews, since they ought not to be deprived of their lives on whom God will one day or other bestow salvation and immortality. Notwithstanding this message, the Crusaders killed the Jews in several parts of Spain.

This country had abundance of Jewish doctors in the eleventh century, as Samuel Cophni, born at Corduba. He published a commentary on the Pentateuch.

* Epist. Alexandri II. ad clera apud Binsum Contiliorum, tom. 3. parte 2.

Pentateuch, the manuscript whereof is said to be in the Vatican library. He died in the year 1034. There were also five Isaacs, very famous men, and several others. France also produced a great many Jewish Rabbins, as R. Gersom, afterwards called *the light of the French captivity*, who published a book of constitutions. Jacob the son of Jekar, a great musician, was his disciple. One Solomon studied under these masters; he had another famous disciple called Abarcellonita, who wrote concerning the privileges of women, and of times and Epochas used by the Jews; and Moses Hadraschian, that is, the Preacher, who died in the year of our Lord 1070, with the honour of leaving Solomon the Lunatic his disciple. These, and many other Jewish Rabbins, who lived after them, were great enemies to the Christians; for they maintained that the Italians and all other Christians are Edomites¹; that the spirit of Esau hath passed into them, and even into our Lord and Saviour; with many other calumnies not necessary to be here repeated: Nor do their blasphemies deserve to be answered; only we pity their blind malice, and heartily pray that they may *fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days.*

Joseph the historian, the son of Gorion, is one of the doctors that France produced in the eleventh century. It may seem degrading of him to make him be born in France, and depriving him of a venerable antiquity which he pretends to, namely, to have lived at the siege of Jerusalem: For he says², "I am that Ben-Gorion whom Titus

¹ Vide Isaac Abarbanellis Dissertationem ad Esaiam, cap. 34. In Mantissa Buxtorfii ad librum Cozri, p. 389, — 400. ² Bengorion, lib. 1. p. 27.

Titus and Aspasian carried captive from Jerusalem." But it appears pretty plain from his own book, that he was born in Brettany, a province of France; for he tells us^a; "That the children of Riphath are the Bretains that inhabit Brettany by the Loire, whose waters as well as the Seine fall into the ocean, which is the great sea." This looks like a respect to his birth-place: And in describing the Roman empire, he always speaks of Brettany as of considerable consequence, and makes twenty thousand Bretains to march to the siege of Jerusalem under the command of Titus. Which also discovers that this author cannot be of that antiquity which he pretends to: For this province got not the name of Brettany before the year 690. Besides, he hath many names of countries, rivers and places in barbarous Hebrew, that must be of a late date; as, Francks, Francia, Bretones^b, Bretania, the river Loyre, Po, Tefino, Bulgar, Turks, Toscana, Englishich, Alemannia, Lombardy, Danishhi, Denmarkia, Dena, Craotæ, &c. The description he gives of Vespasian's coronation^c, agrees to the investiture of some of the German emperors, but no way to the coronation of Vespasian; for there we have account of "seven kings serving the emperor as his principal officers; that two of these princes presented him with a white horse, other two of them hold a ladder of gold, which he makes use of to mount the horse; two horsemen scatter handfuls of flowers of gold; that is, florins. The princes present him with a book of Roman privileges. He kissed all the pages, and

^a Bengorion, cap. 1. p. 6. ^b Ibid. cap. 1. passim. ^c Ibid. lib. 6. cap. 71. p. m. 340 & seq.

and swore to observe the privileges, without violating one of them. Above all these officers is the Father, the Pope, whom the Greeks call patron, who presents the emperor with a sceptre of gilt wood, puts a ring on his finger, and in his left hand a gilded globe, crowneth him, and establisheth him sovereign," &c. This seems to be a description of the coronation of the emperor Otho I. or of his son Otho II. performed at Rome about the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century, with great ceremony, at which this author might have been present. As to the book itself, it contains a kind of history of the Jews from the creation of the world to the destruction of Jerusalem, by Titus, in six books, in which there are ninety-seven chapters. The learned John Gagnier hath published it with a Latin translation, and learned notes and prefaces, now before me, printed at the Theatre at Oxford, in the year 1706. But there are so many fabulous and ridiculous things in it, as make the reading thereof rather a toil than a pleasure. As for example, he tells us, "That Alexander the Great was begotten by an angel in the similitude of a serpent^a; that when he was born, the world was darkened, the sun appeared red like fire. When he advanced in years, his hairs were like a lion's mane. One of his eyes was black, and another blue. His teeth were great; his voice like the roaring of an ox. That the king of Pelusia, one of the cities of Macedopia, sent him a horse, named Butsephal, which killed men; but Alexander,

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when

^a Hist. de l'Empire, par J. Gagnier, t. 1. p. 1. & seq. d. Ben-Gotlon, lib. 4. cap. 6, 7. p. 46. & seq.

when he was fifteen years of age, rode on him, and went to fight with Nicholas, and king Andrias, who met him with a great army," &c. Here we have Alexander the Great represented rather as a monster than as a man; and there are many other narratives in the book of the same kind. What was this impostor's motive to write such a book, I shall not determine; perhaps, finding the history of his nation well done by Josephus the son of Mattathias, and little known by the Jews, for whom it was composed, he resolved to compose one like it in Hebrew; wherein he transcribes Greek and Latin nouns in Hebrew letters, giving them a termination like that language. Little credit being like to be given to a modern historian without vouchers, concerning facts so far removed from the time in which he relates them, he assumed the name of Josephus; but to distinguish himself from that historian, he takes the surname of Gorion, an ancient illustrious family among the Jews. The design had all the success could be expected; for the Jews neglect Josephus the son of Mattathias, whom they consider as a foreigner writing in Greek, and extol this impostor to the skies^c; and even some Christians have been deceived by him, though his book be a constant blunder in history from first to last, except where he copies Josephus the son of Mattathias, concerning the wars of the Jews. But I leave this author, and proceed with our history.

§ 4. The Jews exceedingly multiplied in Germany in the eleventh century, where they built
synagogues

^c Vide Elogia in Gorionidem in præfatione Gagnier, p. 38,—50, &c. in præfatione R. Thom. ibid. Basnage's history of the Jews, book 7. cap. 6.

synagogues in most of the considerable cities, particularly in Triers, Cologne and Mentz. They penetrated into Franconia, thence into Bohemia, where they performed such services to the Christians against the Barbarians, that they were allowed the privilege of a synagogue. They entered into Hungary, where some of them turned Christians. A priest named Goteskal, put himself at the head of fifteen thousand robbers in Germany, where he declared war against the Jews, run over Franconia, and thence passed into Hungary; but when it was perceived that his army plundered the houses, and ravished the wives of the Christians, they killed Goteskal, and cut off the best part of his troops. The Count of Linnengen made the like attempt against the Jews¹, and had also a tragical end. The Crusaders going to recover the Holy Land from the Mahometans, kindled a fresh zeal against the Jews. It is said that these votaries at Cologne, Mentz, Worms, and Spiers, in three months time, stabbed and drowned five thousand persons, and that the number of those who were forced to abjure their religion cannot be reckoned. Women seeing these Crusaders coming, killed their own children, saying, "It was better to send them thus into Abraham's bosom, than to abandon them to the Christians." Yea, some authors say², That twelve thousand Jews perished in Bavaria on that occasion; and that the number of such who were destroyed all over Germany was incredible. These calamities were very general, being felt, not only in Germany, but also in France, in Spain

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and

¹ Shialchalet Hakkabala, p. 119.
Ib. 3. p. 362.

² Aventinus Annalium Bojorum,

and in Italy, where great numbers were killed, and others were driven into such despair as to murder themselves^b.

In the same age the Jews came into England. William the Conqueror, about *anno* 1070, brought them over from Roan, making room for them by the havock of the English, and using them as sponges to suck up the treasure of his new acquisitionsⁱ, that from them he might draw it again into his own coffers. We may meet with them afterwards in this country, in the progress of this history.

§ 5. In the twelfth century, the Crusaders were not more favourable to the Jews than in the former age, only their sufferings were not so universal. Rodolphus, a hermit, who preached up this expedition, recommended to the undertakers to kill the enemies of Christianity at home, before they marched against the Mahometans at a distance. The Jews took warning, so as to flee to Nuremberg and other cities depending upon the emperor, where they found protection. St. Bernard^k also wrote to the bishop and clergy of Spire to stop this violence; for the Jews, "to whom pertaineth the adoption and the promises, whose are the fathers, and of whom concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all God blessed for ever," ought not to be so dealt with: And to the archbishop of Mentz, he says, "It is greater glory to the church to convert one Jew, than to kill a multitude of them;" and minds him of the words

^b Ganz Tsemach David, p. 133. the Jews in England, printed 1656. operum col. m. 1637, — 1640.

ⁱ Anglo Judæus, or, The history of
^k Divi Bernardi Epistolæ 322, 323.

words of our Lord, *Put up again thy sword into his place, for all they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword.*

In the same age, Benjamin of Tudela, born in a city of that name in the kingdom of Navarre, travelled into all places where he hoped to meet with Jewish synagogues; and omits nothing in the account we have of his travels that can raise the lustre and reputation of his nation. It is true, he sometimes departs from the beaten path of geographers and historians, and hath imagined new countries never before heard of; but still his narrative is valuable. To begin with the east: Upon the banks of the Euphrates, in the city Pethora, famous for the seat of Balaam, he finds a tower which answered to all the hours of the day¹; though it is difficult to conceive how a magical tower could have subsisted so many ages. At Almozal, where formerly stood the ancient Nineveh, were many Jews. At Pundebita in Nehardæa, being then called Aljobar, there were only two thousand Jews; of whom the chief doctors were named Hen, Moses and Eliakim^m: But their schools were empty. The same was to be observed at Sora. He ascribes the foundation of Obkera to Jeconias; though it was not very probable that a captive king would build a city. From thence he passed to Bagdat, the chief city of the Babylonian Irack, formerly Chaldea, where he gives a particular account of the magnificence and state of the Saracen califs, which is not to our present purpose. He goes on to the ancient

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Babylon,

¹ Benjamin's Itinerarium in Hornii Ulyssæ, p. m. 378. ^m Ibid p. 380.

Babylon, where were the remains of Nebuchadnezzar's palace, now become a habitation of serpents and scorpions". Four miles from this the foundations of the ancient tower of Babel are discovered, which was built soon after the flood of Noah, before the confusion of languages. From thence he came to Nopha, and then to Ezekiel's tomb, upon the banks of the river Chebar, where people from all parts resort to worship. It is a kind of sanctuary; and there is a rich library, which those who die childless augment, by sending their books thither. In the city Chebar, he says, there are near fifty thousand Israelites^a. Egypt is one of the places where the Jews have subsisted longest; and here our traveller found them: For he reckons thirty thousand of them in one single city^b, which he calls Kouts, and two thousand of them, with two synagogues, at Mitsraim on the banks of the Nile, which we suppose to be the same place that is now called Grand Cairo. Here resided the head of all the synagogues in Egypt, who at that time was called Nathaniel. He created the doctors, and supported the interest of his people with the calif. Our author forgets not the land of Goshen, where the Israelites dwelt so long. He imagined, that he observed some tracts of their ancient buildings, and two hundred of them in one place, seven hundred in another, five hundred in a third, and near three thousand in the city of Goshen, as many in Alexandria, but very few at Damiette.

Benjamin

^a Benjaminis Itinerarium in Hornii Ulyssæ, p. 386.

^b Ibid. p. 391.

^c Ibid. p. 415.

Benjamin also travelled into the land of Judea. At Tyre, he found several of his nation, who were for the most part glass-makers. The Tyrian glass being then in vogue, it was made and transported into other parts by the Jews. The Samaritans had abandoned their principal city; but there were some of them at Casarea, and about a hundred of them at Shechem^a, which they had made the principal seat for those of their religion. At Jerusalem, where God had formerly put his temple and his name, he found very few Jews, only about two hundred of them in a corner of the town, under David's tower, who for most part were dyers of wool, which privilege they purchased of the Turks by a yearly tribute of money. If Jerusalem had so few Jews in it, the rest of the Holy Land was in the same condition: Two of them he found in one city, twenty in another, most of which were dyers. At Ascalon, now built four leagues from that which the holy scriptures often mention, he discovers two hundred Rabbinites^r or Traditionists, forty Caraites, who adhere to the letter of the law, and three hundred Samaritans. In Galilee, where the nation was once in great repute, and where they had their famous schools, eminent doctors, and where the Jerusalem Talmud was composed some ages after the birth of Christ, there our traveller observed only fifty persons of his nation, and some ancient tombs.

The same traveller also passed through Greece, where he finds Parnassus, the old seat of the muses, inhabited

^a Benjaminis Itinerarium in Hornij Ulyssæ, p. 369,—362.
p. 371, 372.

^r Ibid.

inhabited by two hundred Jews, three hundred of them at Corinth, at Thebes about two thousand, though now there are no Jews there: At Ægriphon, the ancient Chalcis, he observes about two hundred. The cities he calls Jabasterifu and Rabbinica are unknown. But Constantinople is better understood by the description of others than of this author. He finds in or near to it, two thousand Jews¹, for most part silk-weavers and merchants, of whom five hundred were Caraites. They all lived at Pyra, or in the suburbs of Galata, a seat long before assigned them by the emperor Theodosius, where they are kept in a sort of servitude. In Italy, he finds Jews at Genoa and at Rome, which he represents as the capital of the Edomites, and the Pope as the head of their religion. Thus, he speaks from the hatred the Jews bear to the Christians. He finds also, Jews at Capua, and in several cities of the Neapolitans; in Sicily, and particularly at Messina and Palermo, where they paid no tribute. He meets with them in most of the great cities in Germany: and takes notice of them at Narbonne and Montpelier, and some other parts of France. His travels end in the year of our Lord 1173, and now we leave him.

The twelfth century was very fruitful of learned Jewish doctors, though we are not to expect too much from them; for, except the Old Testament (the benefit whereof, blessed be God, we enjoy as well as they) there is no monument they possess ancients than Christianity; and when they

¹ Benjaminis Itinerarium, p. m. 353.

they pursue mystical meanings of scripture, they lose the literal sense, and the design of the Spirit of God. Among their chief doctors in this age, we may reckon Nathan, head of an academy at Rome, who hath explained the difficult terms in the Talmud, in a book called *Aaruch*, and so exhausted that subject, that those who come after him are obliged to copy him. He died at Rome in the year 1106. Aben-Ezra is called *The Wise* by way of excellency. He died at Rhodes in the year 1174, being seventy-five years old, and ordered his bones to be carried to the Holy Land. He was one of the greatest men of his age and nation. Being a good astronomer, he made some valuable discoveries in that science. He excelled in medicine; but especially distinguished himself by his explications of the holy scriptures, adhering commonly to the literal sense, without regarding the mystical meanings of his predecessors, judging the Cabbala uncertain, though he was afraid altogether to reject it, for fear of incurring the hatred of his own people. Abraham Hallevi was a zealous Rabbiniſt. He put himself at the head of that party for traditions^t; but perceiving himself unable to answer the reasons of the Caraites, he employed all the interest he had with Alphonso VII. called *The Fighter*, that silence might be imposed upon his adversaries; and so the controversy ended. Judas Hallevi, a native of Cologne, embraced Christianity, and taught Latin in his own country under the name of Herman. Another Judas Hallevi was a good poet. He composed

^t Ganz Tsemach David, p. 132 & 138. ^u Solomon ben Virgæ.

composed the dialogue with the king of Cozar, which we have formerly noticed².

In the same age Maimonides appeared with great lustre among the Jewish doctors. He was born at Corduba in the year of our Lord 1135, and boasted of his descent from the house of David, as did most of the Spanish doctors. Scaliger asserted that he was the first of the Jew who left off playing the fool. Indeed, he found a great deal of folly in the study of the Gemara, or comments upon the Talmud, which made him regret this misspent time, and apply himself to the more solid studies of the sacred scriptures. He understood Greek, and read the philosophers, and particularly Aristotle, whom he often quotes. He occasioned such violent commotions in the synagogues, that those of France and Spain excommunicated one another mainly on his account. At last he left Spain, and retired into Egypt, where he remained the rest of his days; which hath given him the name of R. Moses the Egyptian; he is also called Rambam, or Rabbi Moses ben Maimon. He was a long time in Egypt without any employment, which made him essay the trade of a jeweller. However, he ceased not to continue his studies, and completed his commentary upon the Mishnah. At last, having obtained favour at court, Alphadel the son of Saladin made him his physician, and bestowed on him a liberal pension. He died in that country in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and gave orders for his burial at Tiberias. Besides his comment on the Mishnah,

² See page 302—305.

nah, he wrote other pieces; *Gad Chazzekeh*, or, *The Strong Hand*; *More Nevochim*, or, *The Doctor of doubtful Questions*, translated into Latin by Buxtorf, and several other treatises. David Kimchi, a learned doctor of the same age, wrote an useful book on the grammar, and a commentary on the Psalms; which, with some other pieces of his, have been inserted in the great Bibles, printed at Venice and Basil. His brother Moses composed a book intituled, *The Garden of Pleasure*, where he discourse of the estate of souls; but it was never printed, only it is to be seen in the Vatican Library. Solomon Jarki, or, *The Lunatic*, was another learned Jew of Champagne in France. He wrote the *Gemara*, and some notes upon the scriptures; which are so crouded with fables and Talmudical visions, as make him to be esteemed by some, and despised by others. At the same time flourished Jacob of Orleans, commonly called Rath. In fine, this century produced Jews who distinguished themselves almost in every science: For they had eminent grammarians, as Kimchi; famous poets, as Judah, Alcharisi, Hallevi, Joseph Hadaijan of Corduba: They had astronomers; as Abraham Chija, Abraham Nafi and Aben-Ezra: They had famous professors; as Isaac the Old, and Hazzelsen', who had sixty disciples so well versed in the *Gemara*, that they could dispute upon all subjects proposed to them, and draw arguments out of it against itself: They had Cabbalists, and women learned in the law: They had generals; as Dom Solomon the son of Jechaia, whom

whom the king of Portugal made lieutenant-general of his army, which trust he discharged with great success. Lastly, they had also famous deserters; as Asmonil, or, Samuel ben Jehoadah, a Spaniard by birth, and physician by profession, who quitted the synagogue, and turned Mahometan^a, yea, wrote against the Jews in the year 1174, accusing them of having corrupted the law of Moses; which charge was received with great applause by the Mussulmans; though it is probable the alterations he complained of respected only the false interpretations of the Talmudists.

These great men prevented not the appearing of impostors and false Messiahs in this age, whom the credulous Jews easily followed. One of them, in France, in the year 1137, engaged the Jews, his admirers, to make unlawful assemblies; and therefore, Lewis the Young, who then reigned, caused the synagogues to be pulled down. Maimonides, thirty years after this impostor, affirms^a, That the French, into whose hands he fell, killed him: But the execution did not stop there; for another Jewish historian^b complains, that for the fault of this impostor, they had levelled a great many synagogues in France. The year following another cheat appeared in Persia with a numerous army attending him; but the king forced them to lay down their arms; and it is said, their leader lost his head. Maimonides^c speaks of a third false Messiah, who appeared in Spain in 1157, and drew upon all his nation in that country, a heavy persecution.

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^a Herbelot Bibl. Oriental. ^a Maimonides, in Epist. de Australia Regione apud Vorstium in notis ad Tsemach, p. 193. ^b Solomon ben Virgæ Schevet Jehudah, 169. ^c Maimonides, ibid.

One of their doctors authorised their delusions by a book he wrote, to prove by the motion of the stars, that the coming of the Messiah was at hand. Ten years after that, another proclaimed the coming of the Messiah, and this was a new source of their miseries^d. At the same time an Arabrian persuaded the Jews that he was sent by the Messiah to call them together to meet their Saviour: He pretended to work miracles, and to foretel, that though he should be killed, he would rise again; but his head being struck off, he was never more heard of^e, only his folly drew calamities upon his credulous followers. A little after, a leper, who in one night's time was cured, cherished an opinion, that he himself was the Messiah, which he published to the Jews living beyond Euphrates, persuading multitudes to go after him. which brought on new miseries: And their historians^f affirm, that ten thousand of them, overborn with these hardships, forsook the law, which made the memory of this seducer odious. The calamities broke out again in Persia, upon account of a 7th deceiver, who imposed upon them in the year 1174; but he was afterwards looked upon as a magician or a devil. An eighth impostor was seen in Moravia, called David Almuser, who boasted that he had the power of making himself invisible when he thought fit: Multitudes followed this miraculous man, who had the art to deceive and steal out of their sight. The prince of Moravia had great difficulty to seize him; but at last he was caught and imprisoned, and whether he had lost

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^d Ben Virgæ Schevet Jchudah, p. 169.^e Maimonides, in Epist. de Australi Regione, apud Vossium in notis ad Tsemach p. 293.^f Ibid. ibid.

or exhausted his art, he could not flee nor escape the hands of the hangman. The most famous of all these deceivers in the twelfth century, was one David Elroi, or, Eldavid: He is commonly placed in the year 1199; but Benjamin of Tudela, who travelled in the year 1173, having mentioned him as one that appeared ten years before, he must be a little elder. He was born in the city Amaria, in which are reckoned a thousand Jewish families, who paid tribute to the king of Persia. The impostor having learned some secrets of the Talmud, and several magical arts, gained a number of Jews to take up arms, with a shew of false miracles. The king of Persia being informed of the insurrection, summoned the seducer to court, with a promise that if he should prove himself to be the true Messiah, he would submit to him. Eldavid appeared, and maintained his position; but was cast into prison, from which he made his escape. The king marched a part of his army in pursuit of him, but could not apprehend him, and therefore wrote to the Jews in his kingdom to deliver him up, under pain of being massacred without mercy; but still he continued his disorders, till his father-in-law, tempted, by the offer of ten thousand gold crowns, invited him to supper, where he made him drunk and cut off his head, which he sent as a present to the king of Persia, who ordered all his followers also to be delivered; but this being impossible, abundance of Jews were murdered all over Persia.

Other remarkable events happened to the Jews in

in the twelfth century, both in the east and west. One Herman, a Jew of Cologne, in the reign of the emperor Henry V. was converted to Christianity, of which himself hath given^a a large account. St. Bernard, who flourished about this time, being displeased with the persecution raised against the Albigeois, took also part with the Jews, dissuading hardships used against them, and the violence of zealots bent upon their destruction; and alledging, that the hopes of their future conversion did render their present toleration necessary. These letters being read at different assemblies and places, did the Jews special service. They paid respect to Pope Innocent II. when he was obliged to retire into France; and he shewed them favour. Pope Alexander III. also granted them his protection, which was easily gained, because Rabbi Jehiel was superintendent of his house and finances. Under his shadow they flourished in Italy during the rest of this century. Their case in Spain took different turns in the reign of Alphonso VIII. For while Joseph the Jew was chief minister of state to that prince, they were favoured; but Gonzales, an officer under Joseph, having prevailed over his master, he offered great sums of money to the king, providing he would give him eight heads of the Jews at his own choice; which being granted, and their estates confiscated, he did more than compensate all that he had given to the king. Upon Gonzales's falling into disgrace, Alphonso fell in love with a beautiful Jewish woman, and

^a Hermann's opusculum de sua conversione, a Carpzovio editum. Basnage's history of the Jews, book 7. chap. 10. Divi Bernardi epistolæ 322, 323.

by whose means the Jews became again very powerful; so that Eliakim (who at that time wrote a ritual of ceremonies observed in the synagogue) reckoned twelve thousand persons of his religion in the city of Toledo. They were also very numerous in Andalusia, where they applied themselves to learning, but were much divided into sects and parties.

In France they were accused at Paris of murdering St. William¹, and for their punishment were condemned to the fire, which they deserved if really guilty of that crime. At Beziers, every year a game commenced on Palm Sunday; the people flocked out at night, scoured the streets, stoned those that came in their way, and broke their windows. The Jews being especially aimed at, the bishop agreed to free them of this insult, for payment of a yearly tribute of two hundred sols; and to this end concluded a treaty at Beziers, in the year 1160, which made them pretty easy for a while. But Philip II. surnamed Augustus, in the beginning of his reign, about the year 1180, assuming airs of devotion, banished the Jews out of his kingdom, and confiscated their estates, only permitting them to sell and carry away the money, which was reducing them to the last extremity: For the people taking advantage of these circumstances¹, refused either to purchase or pay. The Jews complain², that their enemies robbed them of their money, and that some of their eminent doctors, lost their lives, as Jacob of Orleans, in the city that gave him his birth

¹ Sighebert ad annum 1179, p. 661. ² Rigord de gestis Philippi Augusti, tom. 5. ³ Ganz Tsemach, p. 139.

birth and name. Rigord, who writes the life of Philip Augustus, tells, that this prince was moved to exile these people, to revenge the death of a young man named Richard, whom they had crucified at Paris, and that, by this example, he was convinced of the truth of what he had often heard, that the Jews every year committed such a murder. It was also represented to the king, that they were so rich and powerful, that they possessed the one half of Paris, and obliged the Christian slaves to judaize. Being banished, some of them temporized and embraced Christianity; such continued in the peaceable possession of their estates: But others left the kingdom, and their synagogues were turned into churches. Philip did not always continue an enemy to this nation; for the exiled Jews returned^a some years after this.

We have heard how the Jews came into England in the reign of William the Conqueror^b, and we may further observe, that in this century, whenever they had the encouragement of the sovereign, they became very insolent. For we are told, that when William II. called Rufus, gave them leave to enter into a dispute with the bishops; and swore by the face of St. Luke, "That if they should get the better, he would himself turn a Jew," they ridiculed the Christian religion, and scoffed at the bishops, thinking by a sum of money to corrupt the king^c; but they were deceived, and forced to flee out of London to shelter themselves against the rage of the people. In

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^a Ganz Tsemach, p. 140. ^b See page 328. ^c See a historical treatise against the Jews, printed at London, 1721.

the reign of Henry II. in the year of our Lord 1160, they petitioned for new burying places: For at that time they had only one at London, whither they were forced to carry their dead, from remote countries, or, to leave them without burial; upon which the king assigned them places to bury their dead, in all the cities where they were settled. Upon Henry II's. death, Richard I. called Cœur de Lyon, came to the throne in the year 1189, in whose reign the Jews were more hardly dealt with; for the people having sucked in an opinion, that they were all conjurors, who had been guilty of poisoning wells in Germany, and would practise murders in England; they were forbid, under severe penalties, to be present at the king's coronation. Notwithstanding this prohibition, some of the Jews, who had come a great way to see the ceremoney, thrust themselves in among the multitude; but being discovered, they were dragged out of the church at Westminster half dead. This set the populace in an uproar, so as they broke open the houses of the Jews; killed these they met with, and the tumult spread from London to the country, where great numbers were slain. To stop these disorders, the king emitted a proclamation, that nobody might hurt or molest a Jew, under pain of death; but it was not possible to put a sudden check to the fury of the people. The king taking on him the crusade to recover the Holy Land from the infidels, new calamities beset the Jews. They thought they had purchased the favour of this

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prince, by the great sums they had contributed for his expedition, till the people rose to massacre them, which was begun at Norwick, carried on at Stamford and St. Edmonds, and the mischief was most terrible at York, where fifteen hundred had seized the city to defend themselves; but being besieged, and unable to hold out the place, they offered to capitulate and ransom their lives with money. This offer being refused, one of them cried out in despair, that it was better to die courageously for the law, than to fall into the hands of the Christians. Whereon they stabbed their wives and their children: The men retired into the king's palace, which they set on fire, consuming themselves with the house and furniture. The besiegers entered the desolate houses, loaded themselves with plunder, and discharged their debts by burning the notes given to the Jewish bankers. King Richard having then crossed the seas on his way to Palestine, upon notice of these commotions, ordered the bishop of York to see them punished^r; but every one excusing themselves from what was done in a tumult, what was past could not be remedied. Thus ended the twelfth century.

§ 6. I proceed now to consider the history of the Jews in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They have ever subsisted and still subsist in the east, tho' we know little of their transactions in these latter ages; they being weakened by dispersions, and confined to their synagogues, have had but little share in public events. Their academies

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^r Anglo-Judæus, or the history of the Jews in England, p 12, 13.

demies being entirely ruined, scarce any doctors have come from these parts, who have raised the reputation of their nation. However, some gleanings concerning their affairs may be gathered. Petachia, who travelled to many of the Jewish synagogues, affirms^c, that he saw a prince of the captivity in the east, but he is little known; and and a persecution raised in the end of the twelfth or in the beginning of the thirteenth century, compleated the ruin of this nation in these parts. Nassir Lednillah, one of the Abassides, being then the Saracen calif at Bagdat for forty-seven years, during all that time, out of his zeal for Mahometanism, and out of hatred to the Jews, and love to their money^d, he declared against them, and at last commanded them to depart all his provinces, or turn Mussulmans; many of them went into exile, and the rest chose to dissemble. The Holy Land was much depopulated by the wars which the Saracens and Christians had made there, as well as in Syria. Nevertheless there were still some synagogues in that country. Thither the famous Moses Nachmanides retired: He was born at Gironne in the year 1194; applied himself first to physic, but made greater progress in the study of the Jewish law. A sermon which he preached before the king of Castile, gave him the title of *The Father of Eloquence*. He commonly goes by the name of Ramban, which is a contraction of these four words, Rabbi, Moses, Ben, Nachman. We know not the reason why he who enjoyed such reputation in Spain should leave it; but it is

^c Petachiae circuitus seu Itinerarium, apud Wagenseil in Sotah. ^d Herbelot Bibl. Oriental.

is certain that he retired to Jerusalem, where he built a synagogue and died. He composed several treatises; as, *A Prayer of the ruin of the house or temple; Letters to induce men to piety; The secrets of the law; The garden of pleasure; or, of the Eden of God;* full of cabbalistic notions, of which science he was a great admirer.

The tranquillity of Egypt was no less disturbed than that of the Holy Land. St. Lewis, or, Lewis IX. king of France, endeavoured to make a conquest of this country from the infidel Mahometans: He took Damietta, and overcame Almohadan, who reigned in Egypt in the year of our Lord 1250; but was himself defeated in a second battle, and taken prisoner. When the Mamelucks, who were renegado Christians, became masters of the country, they oppressed the Jews. It is true, they preserved some synagogues; but these made no figure in Egypt, nor did any learned Jews then appear in that country; only in the fourteenth century, one Simon Duran became conspicuous in Africa; having past thither from Spain, he wrote *A chronology of the ancient Rabbins; The buckler of the fathers; Diligent judgment*", and the *judgment of justice*.

The Tartars, or Moguls, formed a new monarchy in Asia, in the thirteenth century, and took Chozazan. As these barbarians depopulated all places under their power, so they destroyed the settlements which the Israelites had in that country, and dispersed the nation: But they devoted themselves to the service of those new masters, and

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sometimes

sometimes found favour at their hands. In the year 1287, a Jewish physician, named Saade Doulat, ingenuous and agreeable in conversation, became first minister to the sultan Argoun Khan. He deprived the Christians of nothing they possessed in the empire, but chiefly he employed his credit to raise his own nation, and to procure them new establishments. Thus the Jews in those remote parts of the east began to breathe again, and to enjoy the advantages they had so long wanted. This calm did not continue long; the sultan took sickness and died; and though Saade Doulat had done all he could to gain the affection of the people, they accused him of poisoning his master, murdered him, and then fell upon the Jews, making a great slaughter of them, to revenge the real or pretended injustice that the physician had done them. In the Greek empire of Constantinople, the Jews had entire liberty of conscience in those two ages; yea, the Greeks accused the Latins of doing violence to the Jews, by forcing them to receive baptism, which was done, especially by those who undertook the Crusade for recovery of the Holy Land.

In the ages we are now discoursing of, the Jewish nation was numerous and powerful in the west, and particularly in Spain, where they maintained themselves almost equally with the califs and Christian princes, because the different exigencies of state rendered them necessary to both, though their numbers and authority sometimes excited the jealousy of ecclesiastics to persecute them. This happened in the year 1209 at Toledo^x. The
archbishop

^x Mariana, tom. I. p. 487.

archbishop of that city being a man of a warm and restless temper, was vexed to see his diocese filled with multitudes of rich Jews; and being desirous to bring their treasures into his own coffers, put himself at the head of a rabble which he had raised, entered the synagogue, and dispersed the assembly, and thence proceeded to plunder their houses. This misery was followed with another; for the Crusaders, while preparing for their expedition, having their rendezvous near this great city, thought devotion obliged them to massacre those who had crucified the Lord of Glory, hoping that the first fruits of their blood would draw down a blessing upon their endeavours to rescue the holy sepulchre out of the hands of infidels; and therefore, those votaries^y prescribed no bounds to their cruelty. Abravanel^z looks upon this persecution as one of the most cruel that ever his nation suffered; for, according to his account, it made a greater number of Jews go out of Spain, than were conducted out of Egypt by the miraculous ministry of Moses. The nobility withstood the torrent of these cruelties: But king Ferdinand, who endeavoured to gain the love of his people by persecuting the Albigois, and who himself set fire to the pile in which they were burned, was not favourable to the Jews, the most odious of heretics. It is said that the Jews may blame themselves for these calamities: They were become exceeding fond of their Tephilim, and of many superstitious rites and Cabbalistic dreams. They married strange women, both from

^y Mariana, lib. 11. cap. 12. ^z In Esaiam, cap. 46.

from among the Christians and Mahometans; and the Spanish historians charge them with carrying away a child from the choir of Saragossa, and crucifying it: And to crown all, they obstinately refused to be converted. Raymond de Penna Forte, general of the Dominicans, persuaded James I. king of Arragon, to forbear violent, and to use rational methods for their conviction. This produced a book called *Pugio Fidei*; but his poinard of faith did not so wound their conscience, as to produce a change. Upon the whole, I am not to justify the Jews in these matters; but in the meantime, the practice of such inhumanities against them, as these have been named, will rather harden and inflame them with hatred to our religion, than soften and convert them.

Alphonso X. king of Castile was so mightily delighted with the contemplation of the stars, that he is ordinarily called the *Astrologer*. The Rabbins being skilled in this arts, found no difficulty to insinuate into his favour. Juda de Toledo, about the year 1255, by his order, translated some books of astronomy, composed by Avicenna in Arabic, and penetrating further into that science, he counted the stars, and divided them into forty-eight constellations. The same number is to be found in the writings of the venerable Bede, though, perhaps, this Rabbi had never read Bede's books, they being then scarce, and correspondence not easy. Alphonso employed another Rabin, Isaac the son of Sid, who made astronomical tables that have been since called *Alphonfine*, and are in esteem among the learned in that science^a.

Moses

^a Ganz Tsemach, p. 141.

Mosts the son of Tibbon, who then lived in the kingdom of Granada, translated also Euclid's Elements, the manuscript whereof is said to be still at Rome^p. Nor was it only at the court of Castile the learned Rabbins appeared and were regarded; James I. king of Arragon loved them to that degree, as to receive moral lectures from them, and to desire the books of devotion which they had composed. R. Jona, about the year 1264, wrote to another Jona of Gironne for advice how he ought to answer the king of Arragon's intention, commanding him to write a book to instruct man in the duties of religion and piety. It is believed that this Jona wrote a book upon religious fear, which is translated into Spanish, under the title of *Tratado del Timor divino*. It seems the clergy then in that country applied themselves little to the study of devotion, when they were so far outstripped by the Rabbins.

This favourable juncture for the Jews was disturbed by a famous impostor, who formed a design to deceive all the synagogues in Spain, not by setting up for the Messiah, but by promising his speedy appearance upon their observing the conditions he imposed. This deceiver, named Zachary, imagined that he had found out the ineffable name JEHOVAH, by the help whereof he would work miracles, and obtain the absolute sovereign power, conformable to an ancient tradition. Then he, with one, who was his accomplice, notified the day on which the Messiah was to appear: And the Jews were so credulous, that having

^p Basnage's history of the Jews, book 7. chap. 25. p. 662.

having prepared themselves by fasting and alms, they went to their synagogues dressed in white, to wait for the performance of the promise, but found themselves miserably cheated. A Jew, who turned Monk, and wrote against his nation^c asserts, that they were strangely surprised to find crosses upon their white clothes, and upon all the linen they had left at home: But it is more probable that they were afflicted when they found themselves deceived of their vain hope.

§ 7. This misfortune was not comparable to that which they felt in the beginning of the fourteenth century, the effects whereof spread very far. It was occasioned by a gang of shepherds, who set up for votaries, boasted of miracles, formed numerous armies, and could not be dispersed without a prodigious effusion of blood! The Jews were great sufferers in the cruelties they committed. Some authors contend^d, that this assembly of shepherds began in France, in the reign of Philip the Long, making the conquest of the Holy Land their pretence. They were headed by a deposed priest, and a benedictine monk, a deserter of his order, who so abused the credulity of the people, as to be counted miraculous men. The peasants quitted their labour and plough to follow them, and great lords gave them their protection, till they found it their interest to destroy them, to prevent being plundered. They ravaged Languedoc, and the neighbouring provinces, breaking the prison doors, and releasing malefactors, to enlarge their company. They made themselves masters of several cities, in which they exercised the utmost

^c Alphonfus de Spina, fortalictum fidei, Tit. 3. ^d Du Hailan hist. du France, p. 613. Bzovii Annal. Eccles. ad annum 1310.

utmost barbarities, particularly against the Jews. A number of this nation retiring to a castle, under the protection of the king of Brance; the shepherds came and invested it, with a resolution to destroy them. The besieged defended like desperate men; and when their armies failed, they threw their own children from the top of the walls to move compassion: But this was an unprofitable sacrifice. The shepherds set fire to the gates; and having gained the castle, found nothing there but dead bodies, with some children, and one man, who having killed his companions, could not resolve to kill himself; him they took and cut in pieces. At Navarre their cruelties were redoubled, because their numbers were become considerable. Six thousand Jews were murdered at Estella; none escaped but such as could purchase a retreat into some fortified castle or other. R. Menachem found a soldier more merciful than the rest, who saved his life; his father and mother, with four brothers had been stabbed, and he was left naked and wounded, till one of the gang, hearing his groans, moved with compassion, carried him to a house, where he was cured; and he afterwards became head of the academy of Toledo, and famous among his own people for learning. The shepherds proceeded from Navarre to Languedoc, where they committed the like ravages. They assaulted the Jews to enrich themselves by their spoils: But the Christians were not secure; for the least pretence was a sufficient motive to pillage their houses. Application was made to the Pope, then residing at Avignon: But the shepherds despised his thunderbolts of excommunication. At last, the king of France
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being vexed and tired with these barbarities exercised over all his kingdom, ordered his troops to pursue this lawless gang, and give them no quarter. His royal army, assisted by the nobility of the country, obliged them to retire into Navarre and Arragon, where they renewed their disorders, till the king of Arragon having set his son, the prince, at the head of his army, killed the leader of the shepherds, and dispersed the rest. Part of them were destroyed by the sword, and others by the pestilence which then raged.

This plague was a spring of fresh misery to the Jews; they were accused of conspiring with the peasants of Mesura, to poison the waters of the river, and of furnishing them with the poison. They were cast into prisons, and long informations made against them. When the accusations could not be proved, it was said they had been shut up only to convert them^e; and upon their refusal to embrace Christianity fifteen thousand of them were sentenced to the fire. They were on the brink of another persecution in Alphonso XI.'s time, but Joseph, a Jew of Astigy, who had got into favour with that prince, being made intendant of his finances, protected them.

No sooner had they escaped this danger but they fell into another; there was a mutiny against them at Toledo, to which R. Ascher had fled from his native city of Northembourg with his eight sons. One of them observing the Christians breaking open his house, in order to murder him, fell into such an excess of rage, as to kill all his relations

^e Solomon ben Virga hist. Judaica p. 181.

tions who were shut up with him, he stabbed his own wife, and his brother Jacob's, a man who taught gratis, and left behind him a valuable book called Turim, containing a body of their civil and ecclesiastical law; and last of all, this Jew killed himself, that he might not fall into the hands of the Nazarenes. This happened about the year 1349. Another calamity followed them; Martin, archdeacon of Astig, preaching in the streets of Seville and Corduba, inflamed the spirits of the people against the Jews, so as to massacre some of them. This flame was carried as on the wings of the wind to Toledo, Valencia and Barcelona, where some were plundered, others were killed, while the more politic changed their religion to escape the fury of the rabble. The synagogues of Seville and Corduba, which had been very numerous, were dispersed by a multitude of deserters. Henry III. king of Castile, called by some authors *the cursed*, by other *the sickly*, pursued those who retired to Andalusia and other parts, where they were knocked down by the people. Bzovis, in his annals, placeth this in the year 1396. John the son of king Henry was as cruel to the Jews as his father: Many of them perished in his time by being denied the necessaries of life, and were easily known by a red badge which they were forced to wear. They were not more happy in Arragon; new taxes were laid upon them, and the Moors, and farmers of the revenue think they can never be too severe against those who are the object of the public hatred.

Notwithstanding all these oppressions, the Jews in Spain, during these two ages we are discoursing of,

of, had some learned men, as Isaac Scriput, who wrote against Christianity, R. Jacob, who composed his course of the law, entitled, Turim, or, The Four Orders, about the year of our Lord 1340. Solomon the son of Chonar, who went from Constantinople to Burgos to reveal the profundity of the law, his son Schem Thou published the High Way of Faith, in which he endeavours to prove the Jewish religion by philosophical demonstrations. Lastly, the king of Castile had two Jewish physicians in his service, one of them, called Meir Algudes, was intendant or head of all the Spanish synagogues. He translated Aristotle's Ethics, and was much esteemed.

From Spain we may pass into Italy, and there consider the state of the Jews in these two ages, where it may be remarked, That among all sovereigns, scarce any can be found more indulgent to this nation than the Popes at Rome, who, while they persecute Christians who differ from them in their opinions, grant the circumcised great privileges, and leave them to a full liberty in their infidelity. Clement V. who removed his see to Avignon, because of the troubles in Italy, about the beginning of the fourteenth century, protected them as far as he was able against the fury of the shepherds. He took also care of their instruction; for he appointed professors in all universities to explain Hebrew, and to teach their scholars to be able to dispute with these infidels and convert them. John XXII. who succeeded Clement about the year 1320, took a different course, for he

thought the surest way was to burn all the copies of the Talmud, and that the bishops should oppose all the Jewish superstitions; but still he was for tolerating the Jews, and not for using any violent measures against them. Clement VI. about the year 1342, succoured them when they were massacred for having poisoned fountains and rivers in Spain and Germany, though still it is hard to conceive how rivers can be poisoned; but many died at that time, and the Jews must be guilty. This Pope was their father and comforter, who kindly received them at Avignon, while they were burnt at other places. The Inquisitors in Italy, who persecuted the Albigeois, meddled not with the Jews. They presented Emeric, director of the inquisition, with a Bible, writ, as they pretended, by the hand of Esdras, still preserved with great veneration. And we shall afterwards find, that when Ferdinand the Catholick expelled all the Jews out of Spain, the Pope, who then reigned, received them with great civility into his territories; and laughed at the folly of this politic prince, who unpeopled his dominions of a great number of rich trading people, while he commended his piety.

From Italy, if we pass over the mountains into France, we may see Philip Augustus reigning there, in the beginning of the thirteenth century; and many petitions were presented to him against the usury of the Jews, who not content with the excessive interest and mortgages of the church plate, made their debtors slaves. Princes winked at these extortions, because the usurers bought their protection; and on the complaints of the people

the people, were frequently condemned in great fines, and confiscation of their estates to the treasury. At length, laws were made to hinder these abuses; and the most effectual was that in the assembly of the states of Brittany in the year 1239, where it was enacted, "That at the request of the bishops, abbots, barons and vassals of Brittany, the Jews should be banished out of this province for ever. Their debtors were discharged from the debt they had contracted with them; and those who had received pawns from them were allowed to keep them (as if it were lawful to dispose of another man's goods without his consent.) Any body that killed a Jew was declared innocent; and judges were forbidden to take informations against them, in order to bring them to trial. The Duke of Brittany engaged for himself and his posterity to maintain these ordinances; and in case of violation the bishops had not only power to excommunicate him, but even to confiscate his lands in their diocese. Finally, all his vassals were obliged to take an oath before two bishops and two barons to observe this law, and not to suffer any Jew upon their lands." The great council of Lyons, in the year 1245, where the emperor Frederick was excommunicated by Pope Innocent IV. with extinguished torches, made new decrees concerning the Jews; for, first, "These princes who had Jews to their subjects, were commanded to oblige them to return to the Crusaders all the money they had from

^a D'Argentre hist. of Bretagne, lib. 4. cap. 23. p. 207. apud Bagnage's history of the Jews, p. m. 671. ^b Concilium Lugdunense apud Binium, coll. 3 parte 2 p. m. 726. cap. super cruciata.

from them, and to remit all the usury that was due, under pain of excommunication, and being deprived of civil society. Next, the Jews were inhibited from demanding their debts owing by the Crusaders till their return, or till they had an authentic certificate of their deaths." This was unjust, for the council could not suspend the effect of contracts made before it convened, nor dispose of the estates of private persons as they pleased. Notwithstanding these decrees, the Jews had so great liberty, that sometimes they enjoyed offices and dignities. At Montpelier a circumcised person was seen at the head of the magistracy: The Christians had Jewish, and the Jews Christian slaves. St. Lewis, king of France, about the year 1228, was zealous for his own religion, but suffered others to be persecuted. While he was busy about the Crusade, multitudes of Jews were massacred in his kingdom. In the reign of Philip III. surnamed the Hardy, which continued from the year 1270 to 1285, the Jews had more peace; for he recalled some, whom his predecessor St. Lewis had banished. In his time flourished Levi the son of Gersom, grandson of Nachamanides¹, who wrote a commentary on Samuel, and other pieces, and lived to the fourteenth century, being witness to part of the miseries which ruined his nation in that country.

In the reign of Philip the Fair, which began with the year 1286, the Jews were so powerful as sometimes to make conquests upon Christianity, which obliged Pope Nicolas IV. to give orders to

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¹ Ganz Tsemach, p. 145.

the inquisition to be more severe against them; and king Philip drove all of them out of his kingdom in the year 1306. This is reckoned one of the four great miseries the Jews have suffered; and some of their authors say^k, That the numbers which then left France, were twice as great as those who followed Moses to the passage of the Red Sea. But they amplify too much, for they were never so many in that kingdom^l. Platina says^m, that they were punished for magic. But the true cause was the king's covetousness, desiring to enrich himself by their estates; for he banished the Jews under the pain of death or conversion, confiscating the goods of the exiles to his own use, permitting them only to carry their clothes away, with a sum of money to help them out of his kingdom. Part of them died by the way of fatigue and hunger; the rest retired into Germany. Hence the Jews in that country looked on themselves as originally of France, descending of these persecuted people. Some turned Christians, to prevent the misery they thought unavoidable in foreign countries, as Nicholas de Lyra, who wrote a treatise against the Jews. He at last turned monk, and died in a convent in the year 1340; but most of the rest retained the Judaism which they had abjured. The same avarice and worldly interest that had occasioned the expulsion of the Jews out of France, gave rise to their being recalled in the year 1314: For Lewis Huttin, or the Mutineer, then succeeding his father, Philip the Fair, finding his kingdom exhausted

^k Ganz Tfemach. p. 145. ^l Vide Bzovium ad annum 1306. No. 8.

^m Platina in vita Clementis V. p. m. 216

exhausted of money, and the people ready to rebel, upon the fugitive Jews giving him a large sum, recalled them into his dominions, where they lived peaceably during his reign, which was very short; for he died in the year 1316. In the 1320, they laboured under a new persecution by the shepherds, of which we have before discoursedⁿ. This was no sooner over, but they fell into another misfortune; for the Saracen king of Granada, being often defeated by the Christians, is said to have hired the Jews to poison his enemies^o, and that they employed some lepers who put together human blood, urine, three sorts of herbs, and an hostie, all dried in a bag, which being put in a well rendered the waters hurtful. Though this story looks like a monkish tale, yet the people were so provoked as to seize and burn several Jews upon that score; and others of that nation dissembled their religion, to prevent falling into their oppressors hands. Charles VI. in his younger years was favourable to the Jews, allowing them to live in France, only they were to wear a badge of distinction; but afterwards this prince, by some melancholy accident or other, lost his wits, and had fits of madness with lucid intervals. The Jews were accused of killing a new convert at Paris^p, for which they were severely fined in the sum of eighteen thousand crowns. This was but the beginning of their sorrows; for in the year 1395, they were banished out of this kingdom, never to return again. It is true, they have been since tolerated in France,

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ⁿ See page 358. ^o Chron. Guliel. de Nangis ad annum 1321. ^p Du Hailan hist. of France, lib 17 p 804.

and some of them have staid there in disgrace, but from that time they never had any entire liberty.

From France, we may pass over the narrow seas into England, and there take a view of the state of the Jews, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; where we may find king John, the brother of Richard, reigning, who, about the year 1210, commanded all the Jews of both sexes within his kingdom to be apprehended and imprisoned; yea, he caused several punishments to be inflicted upon them, that they might empty themselves to fill his purse. Some he commanded to have an eye pulled out^a. Of one rich Jew at Bristol, he demanded ten thousand merks, who refusing to redeem his liberty at so dear a rate, the king ordered him to have a tooth pulled out every day till he consented^b: The poor man stood it out seven days, and then having but one tooth left him, to save that, he agreed to pay the whole sum. In the war between the king and the barons, the city of London being taken by the latter, they fell upon the Jews as the common plague, razing their houses to the ground, out of which Ludgate was afterwards repaired^c. After king John's death, in the year 1216, the Jews were little molested during Henry III.'s minority, till the year 1230, when the king being to go to France, in order to raise money, he confiscated a third part of their estates. Five years thereafter, the king keeping his Christmas at Westminster, five Jews were accused before him by one Toylic,

^a Anglo Judæus, p. 14. ^b Matthew Paris. ^c Stow's Survey.

lie', that they had stolen away a child at Norwich, whom they circumcised and kept, intending to crucify him at the next Easter, whereupon they were cast into prison during pleasure. The king being frequently straitened for money, obliged them at several times to pay seven thousand merks Sterling, besides two hundred in gold given to the queen. In the year 1239, they were again fined in the fifth part of their moveables, and on many other occasions were severely squeezed, particularly when the king lifted himself for the holy war. In the year 1255, there was a fact discovered at Lincoln, which, if true, makes the Jews very inexcusable, namely, that in the said city they caught a boy named Hugh^r of eighteen years of age, whom after cruel scourging, whipping and torture, they crucified to death, throwing his dead body into a well, where it was found. Being convicted thereof, and it being alledged that once every year they committed the like crime in derision of our Saviour, two hundred of them were cast into prison, of which eighteen were hanged, and the lad buried. Two years thereafter, a Jew fell into a privy at Tewsbury on Saturday, which is their Sabbath, but declined to be taken out for fear of breaking the rest of that day; the Earl of Gloucester hearing this, forbade him to be taken out next day, being the Lord's day, and the poor man died in this pickle before Monday; on which a poet wrote

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^r Polydor. Virgil. *Anglicæ Historiæ*, lib. 16. p. m. 789. ^{Idem.}
 Ibidem, p. 789. ^x *Anglo-Judeus*, p. 18. 19. Matthew Paris.
 Holinshed & alii.

the lines at the foot of the page'. King Henry III. found them too useful in advancing him money to part with them all his time: But when king Edward I. came to the crown, in the year 1272, their case altered; for in the seventh year of his reign, the parliament found the coin grievously defaced and clipped, and upon narrow inquiry, several barrels full of clippings, with the instruments for that work, were discovered in the possession of the Jews, whereon two hundred and four of them were hanged at London, and others in divers parts of the country^a. This gave occasion for several penal laws to be enacted against them^b, and opened a door for their general expulsion out of England: But the king wanting to drain as much of their treasure as he could into his own hands, the execution was delayed for some years. At last their banishment was decreed and accomplished in the eighteenth year of Edward I. in the year of our Lord 1290, at the feast of All-Saints, or, Hallowday, all the Jews being then peremptorily obliged to depart out of England. The following causes are given for this procedure^b: "First, for their blaspheming the name of Jesus Christ. Secondly, for their cohabiting with and debauching Christian women. Thirdly, for their defacing the coin. Fourthly, for betraying the secrets of Europe to foreign infidels. Fifthly, for stealing, crucifying and mangling

^a Tende manus, Solomon, ut te de stercore tollam.

^b Sabbata nostra colo, de stercore surgere nolo:

Sabbata nostra quidem Solomon celebrabis ibidem.

^a Matthew Westminst. ad annum 1279. Stow, p. 200.

and law treatise against the Jews, p. 14, 15.

^b Ibid p. 20.

^a Historical

gling Christian children, and for mocking the crucifixion of our Saviour on Good Friday. Sixthly, for perverting Christians to Judaism. Seventhly, for undermining trade and engrossing all commodities, and for sending arms and ammunition to the enemies of the Christian religion." For these and the like reasons, the Jews were all obliged to leave England^c, to the number of 16,511 persons. Being admitted by William the Conqueror, in the year 1070, and expelled by Edward I. in the year 1290, they consequently continued in England 220 year, and were again readmitted in the year 1656, in the time of Oliver Cromwell the usurper.

Various were the events that happened to the Jews in Germany, in Hungary and in Poland, in these two ages we are discoursing of. They were accused of enormous crimes, whereof a part was true, and others only alledged. The Tartars having made an inroad into Hungary and some parts of Germany, the Jews conceiving that these barbarians came to their assistance, resolved to join them with supplies of provisions and arms; but to cover their design, offered to the German princes to poison the wines they carried, and thus to destroy their enemies. Meantime they had put arms into the casks, till being stopped on a bridge by a customhouse-officer, and the carriages narrowly searched, the fraud was discovered, the Jews were made prisoners^d; and being delivered to the executioners, died by their own swords. They were accused about the same time of hindering the conversion

^c Polydor Virgil, lib. 17. p. 834. ^d Matthew of Paris, p. 382. ad annum, 1241.

version of a young man of their nation, who had a mind to be baptized at Francfort. It is, no doubt, usual with them to prevent their children turning Christians if they can. But this opposition cost the city of Francfort and the Jews very dear: For the people being disturbed that a conquest of this kind should be carried out of their hands, mutinied and ran to arms. Some Christians were killed in the fray: One hundred and eighty Jews were destroyed by the sword, or by a fire that they had kindled; which continuing, and passing from house to house, consumed half of the city, and put the rest of the Jews into new danger*. About twenty-four of the more prudent of them were baptized to prevent death. They were frequently accused of murdering children at the pass-over. In Bavaria an old woman confessed that she had delivered a child to the Jews, who had drained off all the blood with needles to make a sacrifice. The people of Munich being inflamed with this report, rose, and without staying for the sentence of a judge, knocked all the Jews on the head they could meet with†. The officers in vain opposing the fury of the mob, advised the rest of that nation there to take sanctuary in a synagogue. But the people in a rage set fire to the place, and burnt all those who had retired to it.

Notwithstanding these calamities, the Jews continued to multiply in Germany, and learning flourished in the synagogues, which were governed by illustrious rabbins. In Germesheim flourish-

* *Additiones ad Lambertum Schaffnaburgensem* p. 257. *Basnage's History of the Jews* p. 683. † *Aventin. Annalium Bojorum*, lib. 7. p. m. 735.

ed one Baruch de Germesheim, (for then they took surnames from the cities where they were born and taught) and Eliezer de Germeciman, one of the great Cabbalists of the age. He wrote a book about the year 1240, called, *The Cloak of the Lord*; at least Ganz^s thinks so. Isaac of Vienna, not content with *Sowing the Light*, (for this is the title of one of his books, taken from Psalms xcvi 1. *Light is sown for the righteous*) also took pains to transcribe books for the synagogue to make them more correct and exact. He had Meir de Rottemburg for his disciple, who excelled his master: For he became the judge and doctor of his nation; which drew several misfortunes on him: For being thought rich, and to have the management of the purses of his disciples, the emperor, who loved money, laid a great tax upon him, and imprisoned him for not paying it. Besides the advantage of having several learned men in the thirteenth century, they had another: For Boleslaus, surnamed *The Chaste*, because he lived honestly with his wife, gave them liberty of conscience in Lithuania, with the addition of many privileges, which were continued for many ages. Several regulations were made about them at Ausburgh in the year 1267; for when they observed that oaths by the Virgin Mary and the Saints (very common in those days) did not bind the Jews, they obliged them to swear by God, and by the law of Moses. There were then also warm disputes between the Traditionists and the Caraites: The latter were headed by a learned man

man called Doctor Aharon, who exposed the extravagancies of the Talmud, and explained the articles of faith in a book called, *The Tree of Life*, which is said ^a to be in manuscript in the Leyden library.

There came a greater mischief upon them than the disputes of their learned men; for about the year 1294, a peasant named Raind Flaish went a preaching in the Upper Palatinate, "That God had sent him to destroy the Jews." He run over Franconia, and the neighbouring provinces, proclaiming the same thing; and to give it the more weight, said he had stolen an hostie, which cast out blood when they beat it in mortar. The people rose, and without examining the matter, seized as many Jews as they could, and burnt them to death¹. Some of these unfortunate people chose rather to burn themselves and their houses, than to fall into the hands of the Christians. The famous Mordecai of Austria, a learned man among them, about ten years after this lost his life in such a tumult. The Jewish historians make a martyr of him; for they say ^k, that he died for the sanctification of the name of God. These confusions increased. One Armleder, in the neighbourhood of Nassau, encouraged some peasants to take arms against the Jews. They run over several places, unmercifully killing all of them who were so unlucky as to come in their way, and enriched themselves by the spoils, till the emperor Lewis of Bavaria put a stop to these commo-

^a Basnage's history of the Jews, book 7. cap. 20. 1 Aventin. annalium Bojorum, lib. 7 p. m. 735.

^k Ganz Tsemach, p. 147.

tions by taking off Arnleeder's head^l. Pope Clement V. having called an œcumenical council against the Templars at Vienna, made a decree against usury, and those that exacted it^m. This being published, the Jews felt the effects thereof, being brought before the tribunals, and their principal sums disputed for having violated the laws of the Christians.

The devotion of the Flagellants was a fresh source of their miseries. This sect, which had been almost extinct, resumed vigour in the year 1349, and caused new massacres. They mustered under certain leaders twice a-day, and stripping themselves stark naked before the people, whipped themselves with cords loaded with nails and spurs, always stirring up the mob against the Jews, so that some of them were seized and burnt in Turingia. But their greatest calamity happened at Francfort, where the Flagellants having committed many disorders, at last consented to an accommodation: But a Jew named Cicogne, to avenge his brethren who were numerous in the place, threw a squib into the town-house; the fire took, and the archives were consumed; the flames reached the neighbouring church, which was presently reduced to ashes. Such a crime as this could not be suffered to go unpunished, not only all the guilty perished, but also all the Jews in the city, except a few that escaped into Bohemia. At the same time they were accused of poisoning wells, fountains and rivers; and a plague swept away many of them, as well as of other people,

^l Ezovius ad annum 1338. N^o. 20. ^m Concil. Viennens. anno 1310. apud Binium in Conciliis, tom. 3. part. 2. p. m. 786.

people. These who fled into Bohemia, did not find long quiet there: The people of Prague seeing them celebrate the passover, chose that day to burn their synagogue, and those who performed devotions in it. Two years after this, Wenceslaus emperor of Germany and king of Bohemia^a, discharged the nobility and cities from all debts due to the Jews. This made the people believe they might attempt any thing against a nation whom the emperor had refused to protect; and therefore at Gotha, Spire and other places, they took the liberty to put them to the sword, without any distinction of age or sex, excepting some children whom they carried to the church to be baptized, But a stop was put to these executions, by punishing some of the authors. The fourteenth century ended with these and the like disorders: And I humbly conceive they cannot be accounted for, but by observing that the cruel disposition of popery in these dark times had almost banished the meek spirit of Christianity.

§ 8. I proceed now to consider the history of the Jews in several parts of the world during the fifteenth century: Beginning with Spain. In this country, they had lived and multiplied for a long time. Here they had their synagogues, famous doctors, and considerable settlements. The Anti-Pope Benedict XIII. was then in Arragon, the only place that stood by him to that time. He, about the year 1413, desired to signalize his zeal by attacking the Jews, which he began with conferences. Jerom de Sancta Fide, (who before his
turning

^a *Aeneas Sylvii hist. Bohemica, cap. 34.*

turning Christian was named Jehoshuah Hallorki) being then his physician, put him upon this design, assuring him he would convince all the Jews by passages out of the Talmud, that Jesus Christ was the Messiah. Dom Vidal on the other part was chosen defendant in the dispute: The Jews then affected pompous titles, as Dom, or Dominus. Jerom had a good cause to manage, but straitened himself too much by engaging to prove his point out of the Talmud. The conferences began in February 1413, and ended in May 1414, which Jerom afterwards published^o. The Christians tell of a great number of Jews converted by this book; but the Jews give no such account. As this people have been brought in for their share of calamities in all the kingdoms wherein they have lived, so they had a considerable one in the insurrection at Toledo^p. The city complained that their privileges had been violated by the imposition of a tax; upon which the mutinous people rose and plundered the houses of the richest citizens, knocking on the head those that resisted. The Jews were not spared, the violence being carried even to the posterity of the converts. When matters were a little calmed, laws were published, excluding both Mahometan and Jewish new converts from all offices.

But a greater calamity came upon this nation when they were expelled out of Spain by king Ferdinand the Catholic, and queen Isabella: They having put an end to the war against the Moors, thought of ruining the synagogues, and getting rid

^o Vide Hieronymum de Sancta Fide, adversus Judæos. lib. 22. ad annum 1449.

^p Mariana,

rid of the Jews. Ferdinand in March 1492, issued out an edict, " Commanding all that nation to depart the kingdom of Spain in four months, or embrace Christianity. Turrecremata, who promoted the persecution, advised to shorten the time, and forbade the supplying of those who were to be banished with provisions. The Jews are said to have carried off thirty thousand millions of ducats; they were obliged to pay some ducats *per head* to the king for their freight; and those who would not, or could not pay this, became slaves, and had their goods confiscated, which was rigorously executed, so as two vessels being loaded, and not able to pay their freight, all the Jews aboard of them were sold. Mariana, in his history of Spain^a, affirms that one hundred and seventy thousand Jewish families, or eight hundred thousand persons left Spain upon the execution of this edict. The Jews reckon one hundred and twenty thousand families, or six hundred thousand persons. The favour that the learned Abrabanel had with the king and queen, could not hinder him from the same fate with the rest; for he was obliged to retire to Italy, where shifting from place to place, he died at Venice in the year 1508, and is among the best of the Jewish commentators. Isaac the son of Aram, a great philosopher and cabbalist, was another of these refugees. R. Meir his son, author of a commentary upon Job, Joseph Gigatella, the divine cabbalist, as they call him, Isaac Karo, and Abraham Zacuth^c, were also among the learned Jews who went into exile. Za-

^a Mariana, lib. 26 cap. 1.^c Bartolocci Bibl. Rabinica.

cuth when in Portugal, composed his *Jachasin*, or book of generations, from the creation of the world to the year 1500. There were many who complied with the times, chusing rather to take on an external mask of Christianity, than to expose themselves to all the miseries of fugitives. The truth is, their calamity was very great; for we are told, that the fire seized some transport vessels, and consumed all the passengers: Many were shipwreck'd and perished at sea, thro' the fault or design of the pilots. The pestilence having infected the rest; and being set on shore, part of them died of hunger; others arrived at Fez, where the inhabitants frightened with such a multitude of fugitives, shut their gates, and forced them to live in tents, on such herbs as the ground afforded, which by reason of the drought and barrenness of the soil were not many. These who made their way to Italy, arrived at Genoa, where famine rendered provisions extremely dear. The inhabitants observing their distress, and want of money to buy food, went into the streets with a piece of bread in the one hand, and a cross in the other, offering them food if they would worship the cross. And these who had forsaken their estates in Spain, rather than abandon their principles, had not the courage to resist this trial. The Spaniards murmured against the politics of their sovereign, who depopulated his own kingdom, by banishing so great a number, who with their predecessors, had been born and resided many ages among them: Besides, he run the risk of a rebellion, since so many hundred thousands, driven to despair, might make a dangerous insurrection. The wealth he gained by it probably did not

not answer expectation. Indeed he obtained flattering compliments from the Romish clergy, with the title of *Catholic* some time thereafter from Pope Alexander VI. who laughed in his sleeve to see the Catholic king thrust out so many people, whom his holiness cordially received to replenish his territories. I may also observe, that the banishment of so great a number of Jews by Ferdinand, and of rather a greater number of Moors, by his great grandchild Philip II. in the year 1609, at large described by Dr Geddes', with the numerous colonies transported to America and the Indies, and the terrible havoc made by the courts of inquisition, hath so exhausted the blood and vitals of Spain, that this great kingdom appears to this day extenuate and wasting, like a body under a decay.

John II, king of Portugal, lying at the very gates of Spain, was willing to enrich himself on this occasion, and to that end gave a retreat in his territories to considerable numbers of these exiled Jews, whom he employed in his service to discover the coasts of the East Indies; tho' still he loved them not, and therefore imposed on them most rigorous conditions, as that each of them should pay eight gold crowns for the privilege of refuge, and moreover fixed a time beyond which it was not lawful for them to continue in his dominions without entering into slavery. These hard conditions were complied with by abundance of them, who chose rather to endure servitude, than to expose themselves to unknown misfortunes as exiles in a foreign

reign land. Emanuel, John's successor, in the beginning of his reign, shewed some compassion to these oppressed people, restoring them their liberty: But, upon marrying the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, he changed his conduct. The old queen refused him the Infanta, unless he would expel out of his dominions both the Jews and the Moors, they being enemies to Christ and his kingdom. Tho' religion was pretended, the main cause of this zeal seems to have proceeded from a jealousy that Portugal received too much strength and riches by entertaining so great a number of industrious people. However, Emanuel, to gain his bride, and the alliance, which he had so much at heart, ordered both the Jews and Moors to depart out of his dominions in a limited time, which he promised them. He kept his word to the latter, fearing reprisals would be made in Africa upon the Christians; but he did not so with the Jews; for he deprived them of liberty to carry away their children, except those who were above fourteen years of age, which reduced them to that despair, that some killed themselves, others proved executioners to the fruit of their own bowels. Besides, after he had assigned them liberty to embark at three ports, he reduced them to one, which obliged them to make double journies, exhausted their treasure, and made many of them miserable. This made a considerable number call themselves Christians. And these feigned conversions had the following effects; first, That they were not trusted; and hence many of them were massacred upon very frivolous occasions, particularly at Lisbon, where there was in the church an image of

a crucified Jesus, having the wounds covered with a glass; some bigots imagined they saw a glaring light proceed from the glass, and cried out *Miracles!* A Jew impudently denied the fact; which made two Dominican Monks so inflame the people against these new converts, that they fell upon them, and in three days time killed above two thousand of them¹. The King, to settle this sedition, punished the two Dominicans with death who had caused the commotion, and deposed the magistrates who had not suppressed it. *2dly*, These pretended converts frequently take the first occasion to throw off the mask and return to Judaism, of which there are many instances, as Joseph the son of Joshua the Historian, who continued his chronology till 1554; Joseph ben Virgæ, who collected rules for understanding the Gemara; Isaac Cardoso, a descendant from those Portuguese dissemblers, a physician, who wrote a tract in Spanish, of the usefulness of water and snow, and of hot and cold drink. *3dly*, Hence the inquisition watches over these new converts, and this cruel tribunal enrich themselves by their spoils. The least suspicion makes them guilty; the people accuse them of judaizing in secret, and bringing down divine vengeance; and the Jews preserve dyptics or catalogues of martyrs who have suffered by this court; and sometimes some of their cunning men endeavour to get into the court in order to preserve their friends. Thus we have seen how the Jews lost their liberty in several parts of Europe, and were expelled out of France, England, Spain and Portugal.

§. 9. We

¹ History of Portugal, book 4 chap 9.

§ 9. We may next consider what became of them in the east, in Persia, Armenia, and Media, from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century inclusive, and in other parts of the world. They suffered very much by the rapid and violent conquests of Tamerlane, who having fixed his capital at Samercand, passed to Chorazan^a, where they were very numerous. He seized upon Bagdat, and all the Babylonian Irack: Thence he went into Syria, where he plundered Damascus; and at the desire of the Greek emperor at Constantinople, he attacked Bajazet the fourth Emperor of the Turks, with an army of 800000 men, entirely routing him in the great battle near mount Stella. In all places where his army marched the Jews were dispersed, and in some measure ruined. The conquests of Tamerlane, after his death, were divided between his sons and grandsons, who weakened themselves by their differences. However, they subsisted a hundred years, till a commander of the Usbees entered Chorazan, and took it from them. Arbek, a descendant of Tamerlane, was obliged to flee to the Indies, where he erected the empire of the Great Mogul. Some tell of the province of Caxemire in the Indies, full of Jews; but I see no good evidence for it. But the body of this nation remained in Persia and Media, tho' their academies being destroyed, their learned men and heads of the captivity for many ages having disappeared, no sciences flourished among them, and even their private men made but a poor figure. They raised their head under Ishmael Sophi, founder of the

B b 2 family

^a Vaxlers Hist. of Tamerlane, lib. I.

family that long reigned in Persia. Ishmael dying in the year of our Lord 1523, his successors being wholly employed in wars, we hear little more of the Jews till the reign of Schack Abbas, about the year 1585. The Persian emperor then finding his country very much depopulated, resolved to grant privileges to all who would come and settle there*. Upon which a multitude of people resorted to his territories, and particularly Jews, who enriched themselves by trade, and thereby raised the jealousy of other inhabitants so far, that they complained of them to the emperor, who being of a cruel temper, would have cut them off, but could not do it without violating the privileges promised to strangers, to encourage them to plant his country. Only he called for the Kacame, and sages of the nation, and examined them why the sacrifices and other rites of the Mosaic law were abolished since the coming of Jesus, whom Mahomet had succeeded? The sages said, "They expected the Messiah, but could not receive Christ, whom their fathers had crucified." Abbas was provoked with this answer, especially because the alcoran makes honourable mention of Jesus Christ. However he further interrogated them, "Why will ye not believe on Jesus Christ, since I believe him?" They replied, "Christians are so many idolaters, who worship an accursed man, who was hanged on a tree?" "Very well," said the sophy, "believe not the Messiah of the Christians, since you have no mind to it, but what think ye of Mahomet?" This demand confounded them, perceiving their danger

* Kidder's Demonstration of the Messiah, part 3 chap. 2 p 435.

danger if they spoke out their mind upon this point; wherefore having conversed together, they answered, "That Moses was the great Prophet, and the only one they ought to follow; but that they did not absolutely reject Mahomet, because he was the son of Abraham by Ishmael." To the answer they added humble supplications to the sophy, to have compassion on his slaves and subjects, who had settled in his dominions only to please him. Abbas reproached them with their incredulity, but added, "Fix a time for the coming of your Messiah, and I'll tolerate you till the accomplishment of that period; but if the Messiah deceive you once more, you must embrace Mahomet's religion, or lose your estates, your children and lives." After a mature deliberation they determined, that the Messiah was to come in seventy years; and they consented to lose their lives and liberties if he did not appear before the end of these years. On the other hand, Abbas promised for himself and his successors to turn Jews, if the Messiah appeared in that time. The agreement was signed by both parties, laid up in the archives, and the Jews taxed in two millions till their promise was performed. This sophy died in the year 1629, and the agreement was little minded, because of continual wars between the Turks and the Persians, till in the year 1662, Abbas II. having obtained peace with his enemies, took leisure to turn over the registers of his palace, where he found the contract as above between Schack Abbas I. and the Jews; which surprised him the more, because Zabbathai

still

B b 3

Tzevi,

Tzevi, a Jewish impostor, was then making a great noise. Whereupon the Persian council resolved that this nation, so abounding with cheats and impostors, should be destroyed without delay, except such as should turn Musselmans. The execution began at Ispahan; and in the space of three years (viz. from 1663 to 1666) went over all the provinces of Persia, where the Jews were settled. Some escaped the barbarity by flying into the dominions of the Grand Seignior, and to the East Indies: But the hatred of the Persians is so great to them, as there is little hope of their settling there again. I have related the story as I found it, tho' at the same time I own there are some things in the treaty between Abbas I. and the Jews that look like a fable. M. Basnage is of the same opinion^a, only he thinks it true that Abbas II. persecuted the Jews in his dominions, unless they would turn Mahometans: But having observed, that almost all the deserters of Judaism dissembled, he gave up the design of converting them, and restored them to the liberty of conscience he had taken from them. This they enjoyed till a minister of the Persian, who hated this nation, and designed to enrich himself by their spoils, engaged his master to torment them. 'Tis certain that there are still many Jews at Shiras, at Ispahan, and at Lar in Persia^b, and some of them on the coast of Ormus. They have a synagogue at Bagdat, tho' that place be not now considerable. There are also many of them scattered up and down in Armenia and Media; and they have some synagogues at Damascus in Syria; but in most of those

^a Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, Book 7. chap. 22. p. 698. ^b Thevenot's Voyages, lib 3.

those parts they are reduced to the meanest offices to gain their bread, and have little correspondence with their brethren in the west.

The Jews have been, and at present are numerous in Aleppo. This city produced the famous impostor Zabbathai Tzevi, who deluded this nation in the last century, pretending to be the Messiah. His father was only a poulterer, yet his son had the ambition to go about persuading the people that he was the redeemer of Israel, promised by the prophets, and expected for so many ages. He learned betimes what was necessary to be known to act so vile a part: Scarce was he come from school but he set up for a teacher, preached in the fields in sight of the Turks, who laughed at him while his disciples admired him. At twenty-four years of age he married a young Jewess, whom he divorced without knowing her, and took another with whom he also lived in abstinence. It seems he designed to amuse the people with his love of chastity. He fell upon the study of the prophecies, which perfectly turned his head; for by applying them to himself, he imagined that he was to ascend above the height of the clouds, as Isaiah had foretold^b; and asked his disciples one day whether or not they had seen him carried up in the air^c. He was cited to appear before the heads of the synagogue at Smyrna, where he was condemned to death; but because no body would execute the sentence, they only banished him. He went to Thessalonica, a city full of Jews, which he thought a proper stage to act his part on, but was expelled from

^b Isaiah xiv. 14.
Levant, lib. 1.

^c Thevenot's Continuation of his Voyages to the

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^c Thevenot's Continuation of his Voyages to the

from thence as well as from Athens and several other parts of Greece, which obliged him to retire to Alexandria, where he gained greater reputation. There he married for the third time a lewd wench, who had run thro' Germany and Italy, and had influence to have her received as queen of the empire that he was to conquer. At Gaza he found a Jew called Nathan Levi, who favoured his design: and they found by the cabbalists on Daniel, that the Messiah was to come in the year 1675. Part of the Jews were over-reached by him, and by this Nathan pretending to be Elias the fore-runner of the Messias; but the wisest of the nation feared that this affair would draw upon them new calamities. He told to such as he had deluded, the fall of the Grand Seignior and the ruin of the Ottoman empire; and to beget further credit, pronounced the name *Jehovah* several times, and changed some words of the liturgy. When he came to Constantinople, the Sultan having notice, ordered the vizir Azem to arrest him prisoner, and to give him a sound bastinado, which was done. This did not discourage his followers, who boasted that the Grand Seignior had no power to put their king to death. At last, at the request of the principal officers, he sent for him to Adrianople, and ordered a sword to be run thro' him, to try if he was invulnerable. This so affrighted poor Tzevi, that he turned Mahometan, and his wife did the same. Nevertheless his followers were not entirely undeceived; for some of them fancied, after he was gone, that he was not dead, but only hid

hid some where, from whence he would come out again^d. So far concerning this impostor.

One would think that the greatest number of Jews might be found in Judea; but we deceive ourselves if we seek them there. Their passion for the holy land is wonderfully cooled, since it no longer flows with milk and honey. 'Tis made a piece of devotion in the synagogue, as well as in the church of Rome, to make a pilgrimage to these bounds, and be buried; but there are few that settle in that country, because it affords not many ways of subsisting and growing rich. Sapheta is one of the most remarkable cities, where there are the greatest number of Jews*. It is situated in the bounds of the ancient tribe of Naphtali, nine miles from Bethsaida, upon a mountain of three tops, of so difficult access as to shelter them from the incursions of the Arabians, who plunder and lay waste any city where they can enter. Here they have an academy, which seems not to have been erected at the end of the twelfth century, since Benjamin de Tudela does not mention it; but it is now become famous. Thither the Jews send their children to study, as believing the Hebrew tongue is here learned in its purity, as if that language were annexed to the Holy Land. Here taught the most famous cabbalist, since Simeon Jochoides, called Moses Cordoverus, being born at Corduba; but quitting Spain towards the end of the thirteenth century, he became one of the pillars, and perhaps one of the first founders of this academy. He took for his text, Song iv. 13. *An orchard*

^d See Mr Couper's Letter at the End of Basnage's Hist. of the Jews.

^e Fuller's Pisgah-Sight, lib 3.

orchard (or paradise) of *pomgranates*, where from the Hebrew *pardes*, signifying paradise in English, he found every thing he had a mind to; the *P.* signifies the literal sense, *R.* the mystical, *D.* the enigmatical, and *S.* the secret sense. We may judge of the cloth by the swatch. Dominick of Jerusalem taught in the same college. Moses de Trany, and Joseph de Karo had the conduct of it about the middle of the sixteenth century. The one was born in a city of Apulia, and taught with so great applause at Sapheta, that the Jews named him¹, *The light of Israel, the Sinaite of Sinai, the doctor that plucks up mountains*, because he resolved difficulties raised upon their law. He published sermons, and an abstract of the Jewish civil law. Joseph de Karo was a Spaniard, who travelled into Galilee, where he died in 1575: He explained the law of the nation with so much applause, that he was called *the Prodigy of the Universe*. Moses Alscheh was born at Sapheta in the year 1599, and distinguished himself in the seventeenth century, not only by the eloquence of his sermons, but also by his commentaries on a part of the law. The titles of his works are metaphorical, as, *the Eye of Moses, the Rose of Sharon, the Lilly of the Valleys*. He owns that the Messiah ought to be afflicted². Samuel Ozida was another preacher, who thundered at Sapheta, the place of his birth: He explained the Lamentations, calling his commentary *the Bread of Tears*. Moses de Nagiara also taught there, and hath left notes on the Pentateuch, which

¹ Bartolocci bibl. Rabbinica, tom. 4. & tom. 3 p. 819. ² Moses Alscheh in *Esaiam* exversione Const. l'Empereur, p. 232, 238, 240.

which the Jews esteem. There they had a press, wherein they printed the ritual which Moses Gallant, head of this academy, composed in 1560. Lastly, Judas Jona, who after his conversion became the learned Bartolucci's master, and put him upon the design of his Rabbinical library, was born at Sapheta, and took his degree of doctor or Rabbini in this college. He was descended of a Spanish family, which after Ferdinand's expulsion travelled into the east, where this Jona was born. Having gone through his studies, he came into the west, and at Amsterdam determined the validity of a will made by a father in behalf of a bastard child. The Jews of Hamburgh made him afterwards their judge, and assigned him a salary. From thence he went to Poland, where he became a Christian, and turned jeweller to Sigismund III. At last he settled at Rome, where he taught Bartolucci the Hebrew tongue, and died in the year 1668.

There are fewer Jews at Jerusalem than at Sapheta; however, they reckon about an hundred families of them, who have their chief habitation on mount Zion. Some of these have employments but the greater part of them live upon alms sent by their brethren in the west.

Besides Jews, there are some Samaritans at Joppa, Gaza, Sichem or Napalouffe. I have discoursed of them already in chapter fifth^b; and my intended brevity doth not allow me now to enlarge further upon them. The curious may see some of their letters, with remarks upon them in

Basnage's

Basnage's history of the Jews¹, and in the supplement to Ockley's translation of Leo de Modena². From which I only remark, that in the last of their letters, written in the year 1676, they give their supposed brethren in England advice of the death of their high-priest, and beg of them at the same time assistance in their misery, by sending their offerings to the holy mount Gerizzim, that they may be furnished to provide vestments for their priests; and finally to offer their presents and charity to the tombs of their fathers.

I go next to consider the state of the Jews in Ethiopia. In this kingdom they have been least disturbed, because they agree easily with the Christians who are circumcised, eat no swine's flesh, and observe the Jewish Sabbath. Even the kings of Ethiopia fancy themselves to be descended from the ancient Jews, and have a lion in their scutcheons, holding a cross, with this motto, *The lion of the tribe of Judah hath prevailed*. In the letters king David wrote to Pope Clement VII. he took the following titles, *I David, beloved of God, pillar of Faith, sprung from the tribe of Judah, the son of David, the son of Solomon, the son of the Pillar of Zion, and of the seed of Jacob*. Mr. Ludolf says³, that these were not the common titles of the king of Ethiopia, but that it was thought fit to swell them to give greater lustre to his embassy to the Pope. But it is plain that the Abyssinian emperor pretends to be descended from Solomon, and that the Jews in this country have not received the Talmud, and all the trumpery of tradition which ruins

¹ Book 3. chap. 25. 26. ² Page 261, — 286. ³ Hist. Ethiop. lib. 2. cap. 1.

ruins the reputation of their religion in other parts. I have in another essay given an account of the methods which the church of Rome used in vain to subject the church of Abyssinia to the pope^m, which I am not now to repeat; but shall here only notice what concerns the Jews in this kingdom: and therefore we may observe, that David, emperor of Ethiopia, about the year 1534, made an alliance with the Portugueze, who, at that time, had made their name formidable by their trade and conquests in the East Indies, by virtue whereof, he expected no less than to extirpate the Heathens and Mahometans his infidel neighbours. To prevent this, Achamed, nick-named Granhe, or Left-hand, a Mahometan prince, joined his forces with those of the king of Adel, fought and entirely ruined the Abassin army, and obliged David to retire to the mountains, where he skulked about for two years. At the top of one of these mountains, which is ascended with a great deal of difficulty, he found an agreeable plain, watered with several rivulets, stored with excellent fruits, and good pasturage for cattleⁿ, where the Jews had their abode, who were very useful to the emperor David in his distress, and also to Claudius his successor, and therefore were protected during their reign. About the year 1632, they dispersed themselves more over the kingdom. Some retired towards the springs of the Nile, where they still subsist; others remain in the province of Dembe, where they spin wool: Some of them are weavers, others smiths. The Abassines leave

^m Propag. of Christianity. ⁿ Johan de Castro maris Rubri Itinerarium

leave especially this last trade to the Jews, who furnish them with warlike instruments. They have their synagogues and public worship, in which they use the Talmudic Hebrew, tho' they have not received that collection of traditions. Lastly, great numbers of them follow the court of the king of the Abassines. An Arabian, who had travelled in that country at the end of the last century, assured Mr. Ludolf^a that sixty thousand of them were at court. They correspond with the Christians, and live very familiarly with them in that kingdom.

Egypt hath served the Jews many ages for a sanctuary; but I am only now to observe that in that kingdom they were very near the brink of destruction in the year 1524, upon this occasion. Achmed, to whom the emperor Solymán II. had intrusted the government, demanded a great supply of money from the Jews, which they were unable to pay^b: Whereupon he caused them to be committed to prison, and threatened them with death, unless they would pay a great sum. But while his officers were executing these orders, a conspiracy was formed against Achmed. He was taken, and an end put to his designs; whereby the Jews were delivered, and they celebrated the memory of this event by a feast. Their mechanics are dispersed over the country, and their rich merchants dwell at Cairo. They pretend to be more numerous in this kingdom, than when Moses led them out of it; but their number is much lessened of late. Travellers who have known them af-

firm,

^a Ludolfi Hist. Ethiopticæ, lib. 4. cap. 5. ^b Solomon ben Virga, p. 402.

firm^a, that they have no settlements except at Cairo, and the maritime cities of Egypt; and that if their business lead them to other parts of the country, they are forced to disguise themselves that they may not be abused by the common people.

There are some of them in other parts of Africa, as at Fez and Morocco, and at Oran, where they favour the Spaniards, notwithstanding the injuries they have sustained by them; for it was a Jew who directed Cardinal Ximenes to make an easy conquest of that place. Notwithstanding this good service, they were all expelled out of Oran, in the year 1669. They were numerous in the province of Suz, which depended formerly on Morocco. There they had a fine synagogue, served by many priests and their own judges and interpreters of the law, paid by their nation, who live upon labour and trade. There are of them in the mountains of Morocco, ferriers and smiths, and people who serve to build houses, because the other inhabitants think this work too laborious. But they are not always employed in such mean offices, for they often force themselves into the court, and obtain higher posts. The king of Morocco sent one Pacheco, a Jew, ambassador to the States of the united Provinces. He died at the Hague in the year 1604, and was buried with great pomp. Their synagogues having been pulled down in the kingdom of Fez, in the year 1660, Muly Mahomet, when he reascended the throne, not

^a Vandel's new relation of a Voyage to Egypt, p. 23. apud Baskage p. 717.

not only caused them to be rebuilt, but also made a Jew his treasurer and first minister.

In Constantinople, Greece, and other provinces of the Ottoman empire, the Jews have preserved their liberties these two last centuries. They inhabit a considerable suburb at Constantinople^r, which was called Jewry in the crusading days. The ambassadors of foreign princes reside among them. At present they have thirty synagogues, and an hundred and five thousand families in this great city and the neighbouring villages. The califs obliged them to wear a distinguishing badge of yellow cloth; and in the Ottoman empire they were to wear a felt-hat, without brims, called in derision *haurot*, or *closestool-pan*. But this law relates only to strangers. The Jews who are natives of the empire, are allowed to wear turbants of various colours, according to the fashion of the country, and are distinguished from the Christians by their shoes; for the latter wear red, and the former purple or black. They are allowed to sell wine; and 'tis thought better than that of the Christians, as more free of mixtures, which the law of Moses prohibits. Here, as every where else, they are much addicted to trading and usury. Some of them are porters, who are forbidden to use a quilt of hay under their burdens. They are taxed, but instead of having it levied by an officer of the empire^r, they have compounded it for a sum; and the head of every synagogue proportions the quota to the wealth of every particular, whereby the poor are considerably relieved; tho' it often happens that the

^r Smith de septem de Ecclesiis.

^r Smith de septem Ecclesiis, p. 116.

the pressure of poverty makes them turn Mahometan; and when they do so, are obliged to pronounce these words, *La Allah Elallah Mehemet Resoul Allah*, that is, *There is but one God, and Mahomet his prophet*. A Jew, called Michsez, is accused of having put the sultan Selim II. on the conquest of the rich isle of Cyprus, in the year 1576. 'Tis certain, when that island was conquered, the Jews had greater privileges given them than the Christians; which immunities they still preserve. Selim yet shewed them more favour; for he sent a Jew, called Solomon Raphe, to Venice, after the Christians had won the battle of Lepanto, to negotiate and conclude a peace with the republic; and in the year 1576, they obtained leave to set up a printing press at Constantinople. The Mahometans, and particularly the Mosti, was alarmed at it, fearing the Alcoran would be printed, and that the love of sciences would be propagated among the Arabians. However, this liberty was a great advantage to the Jews; for the copies of the law, which were become very scarce in the east, were become universally dispersed, and people fell more in love with it, because reading was rendered more easy, and they had greater assistance to understand it. This also made many learned men to resort thither; as Solomon Japhe, who left his native country in Germany, came to the east in the sixteenth century, and explained the Talmud. Ghedalia, who left his native place at Lisbon, practised physic at Constantinople, and was head of one of their synagogues, where he in vain endeavoured to reconcile the Cairites and Rabbinites. He wrote a book entitled *Sciva Enajim*, or *Seven Eyes*, from Zech. iii

9, and Mordecai the son of Eliezer, who explained Aben Ezra's Grammar.

There are some cities in Greece, where the Jews have no privilege to settle, as at Salone, the old Amphissa, and at Athens: But they have four synagogues at Patras. There they have their judges, and a burying place on a neighbouring mountain, where they have stately stone-monuments like houses, with inscriptions cut in marble; and yet the number of the Jews in that place is but about a thousand persons. Some of this nation are at Lepanto, at Levadia, at Corinth and other cities, where they can live by trade. But Greece is so depopulated by the revolutions it hath undergone, by the tributes it pays to the Grand Seignior, and the oppression of his officers, that the condition both of Jews and others is very miserable. At Thessalonica they make a better figure; 'tis said they have continued there since the time of the apostle Paul, and have now an academy in the city. They subsist also at Galipoli in the mouth of the Propontis, where are reckoned six thousand Jews, and twelve thousand Turks. They are more considerable at Proussia, built upon an hill of Mysia, near Mount Olympus. Tho' the Christians be obliged to live in the suburbs*, there are twelve thousand Jews counted within the walls. There are about two hundred at Rhodes, and since Solymán II, took that city in the year 1522, they are treated more kindly than the Christians. At Smyrna there are reckoned six thousand Jews, who have many synagogues. In fine, there are few cities

* Wheeler's Voyages, p. 185. Sp n's Voyages, p. 209.

cities or great towns in the Ottoman empire but have some Jews. They suffer much by the avarice of the Sultan's officers: But this is common to them with most of the subjects of this great empire.

I go now to consider the state of the Jews in Italy in the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries. They complain that they had a terrible enemy in Pope John XXIII. that he was fitter to command an army than be at the head of the church. About the year 1412, he issued many edicts to force them to turn Christian; and not content to torment them in his own diocese, he wrote to the queen of Spain, regent in the minority of John II. whom his father had left in his cradle, that she, in conjunction with her son might make them proselytes: and by her severities, she forced " sixteen thousand Jews to abandon their religion. A part of such as persevered perished by fire, and by other punishments they were sentenced to; others, as they fled, fell into the hands of the peasants, who murdered them; a very small number ransomed their lives with money. Pope Nicholas V. comforted the circumcised in his territories for the afflictions they had undergone, and granted them his protection about the year 1447. He gave a check to the inquisitors, who tormented them unreasonably, and wrote to Spain to prevent forcing their consciences; and also maintained the voluntary converts in the privilege of entering into offices, which the city Toledo had taken from them by an edict. Sixtus IV. about the year 1474, canonized little Sim-

C c 2

monin,

^u Solomon ben Virgze Schevet Jehuda p. 312.

monin, who was pretended to have been unmercifully murdered by the Jews two hundred years before. They are wise in delaying so long to advance their saints to that dignity, till the ground of their enrolling cannot be examined. However, this drew great calamities upon the circumcised in the bishopric of Trent, and also in the territories of the republic of Venice. The preachers kindled the people, who, moved by the notion of miracles, plundered and murdered all the Jews they met with. So great was the disorder, that the doge and senate were obliged to repress it, and to order the magistrates of Padua to treat the Jews like other subjects, because the report spread at Trent appeared to them a falsehood, contrived by art for a certain end^x, which they would not enquire into.

Pope Alexander VI. received the Jews who were expelled out of Spain by Ferdinand the Catholic, in the year 1492, with abundance of charity, and threatened their brethren at Rome to thrust them out if they did not relieve those of their own nation who were exiles and in great misery, thinking it convenient to make profit by Ferdinand's error, and to people his own territories at the cost of others. And therefore many Jews from all parts flocked to Italy: Jochanan Almanan came from Constantinople, who being taken into the service of Picus, count of Mirandula, brought that prince to be well acquainted with the Hebrew learning, which he was mighty fond of. Another part of the Spanish and Portugal refugees expected to find
a retreat

^x Cardoso las Excellencias, p. 27. Apud Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, p. 711.

a retreat at Naples, but the inquisitors pursued them thither with such heat, that under this pretence the people rebelled, and the viceroy resolved to expel the Jews to get rid of the inquisitors. This resolution was confirmed by the emperor Charles V. who hated them; and the impostures which he had discovered among them, confirmed him in this aversion. But they became so powerful under the pontificate of Paul III. about the year 1534, as to provoke the rage of Cardinal Sadolet, bishop of Carpentras, in the diocese of Avignon, where the Jews had been tolerated since Joan queen of Sicily made a present of this city to the pope. There they had a synagogue, though the place be in the midst of France, from which they had been banished. Sadolet wrote to Cardinal Farnese*, complaining that the pope shewed more favour to the Jews than to the Christians, persecuting the Lutherans while he protected those who seemed more to deserve his indignation: That the best way to have favour at the court of Rome was to countenance this nation, and all this flowed from the pope's treasures, to whom the Jews were necessary men.

About the year 1330, pope Julius III. being persuaded that the allegorical explications of the Gemara were dangerous to religion, caused the Talmud to be burnt: The Jewish historians* say, all the copies of the Gemara in Italy were committed to the flames. In the same pontificate Joseph Tzarphati, a famous Rabbin, who had taught a long time at Rome, embraced Christianity. He

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published

* Sadolet, lib. 12. Ep. 5, 6.

* Ganz Nismach David, p. 153.

published a treatise of the confusion of the Jews^b, proving that all the mysteries of Christianity were found in the Old Testament; but it was never printed. About the same time there was another famous Jew at Rome, Elias the Levite, born at Padua, but having lost all his effects when that city was taken, he was entertained by some cardinals to whom he taught Hebrew. He once more lost his substance, when the cardinal of Bourbon plundered Rome in the year 1555, but retired to Venice, from thence to Germany, and returned to Italy, where he died at 80 years of age. He was suspected to have inclinations to Christianity, which made his own nation hate him, though he never publicly embraced our religion. He wrote a valuable book on the Masoreth, and a dictionary of the Chaldee paraphrases. There was also an eminent Jewish woman at Rome called Deborah, who distinguished herself by her poems and other works. She died not till the beginning of the seventeenth century. To return to the Popes,

Paul IV. who began his pontificate in the year 1555, declared himself an enemy to this nation, which he shewed by two bulls: By the first whereof he ordered each synagogue erected in his territories, to pay ten ducats annually for the instructions of catechumens that should abjure Judaism; and by the second, he ordered Jewish men to wear a yellow hat for distinction, and the women a veil of the same colour, obliging them all to live in the same quarter of the city, the gates whereof were to be shut at night. They were deprived of all societies,

^b Bartolucci bibl. Rabbin. Tom. 3. p. 810.
Pontificum, p. m. 338.

§ Platina de vitis

societies, offices or professions among Christians: Their commerce was confined to small wares: They were prohibited to have more than one synagogue in each city; and are commanded to sell all their lands in six months time, which sunk the price so low that they could not get the fifth part of the value, which nevertheless amounted to five hundred thousand crowns. Lastly, he made an ordinance against Hebrew books; for whereas Julius his predecessor had condemned them without distinction to be burnt, he distinguished between these wherein our Redeemer is treated in a blasphemous manner, and these which only explained the Jewish religion; he burnt the former, but allowed the latter to be read: Pius V. who began his pontificate in the year 1566, accused the Jews (in a constitution which he published) of hating the Christians, of ruining the Ecclesiastic State by their exorbitant usuries, of sheltering robbers, of debauching women, and lastly of dealing in magic. For these reasons they were expelled out of all the cities of the Ecclesiastic State, except Rome and Ancona^d; tho' it is not easy to conceive why, if they were guilty of such crimes, they should be allowed to reside in these cities more than in others. Sixtus V. who began his pontificate in the year 1585, was more sincere, tho' he is generally accounted a dissembler: For he confessed, that the motive which moved him to tolerate the Jews, was the hope of profit. He granted to R. Meir, who flattered him with poems and dedications, a privilege of working in silk, laying a duty upon every

^d Spondanus ad annum 1569.

every pound. Clement VIII. about the end of the sixteenth century, shewed them little favour; for he renewed the bull of Pius V. banishing them out of the Ecclesiastic State, only tolerating them at Rome, Ancona, and Avignon; that they might be at the pope's hand to be converted, upon which reason he might have allowed all heretics.

The Jews had considerable settlements in other parts of Italy, particularly at Venice, where they boast, that they have deserved favour by the services they have done in the war against the Turks, and particularly at the siege of Candia. At Venice Daniel Bomberg printed the Hebrew Bible, with the Chaldee paraphrases. For carrying on the work he had about a hundred learned Jews his pensioners. The edition in folio of 1548, is counted the best, with a preface of Jacob Chajim, author of the collection of the Massorah. He printed also a Grammar called *the Possession of Abram*, and the works of many Rabbins, which has rendered his memory precious with the Jews. At the same time there was another press set up at Soncino, where several Hebrew books were printed. There was a synagogue at Imola, where flourished the famous Ghedaliah, who boasted that his family did proceed in a right line from Jesse the father of David. He wrote several volumes; but the principal, and almost the only one that was printed, is, *The Chain of the Cabbala*, or *Schialschelet Hakkabala*, writ at Imola in the year 1549. There was another synagogue at Modena, with R. Samuel at the head of it, who in the year 1550, wrote *the Judgements of Solomon*; under which pompous title is contained a kind of course of their canon law.

There

There was an academy at Padua, which produced a considerable number of doctors: R. Meir was its president; Joseph of Padua taught there, and Isaac Rhea published there his *Way of Faith*. They had a synagogue at Mantua, and a settlement at Pesaro. Throughout the whole of Italy they have maintained themselves for the last century, and have had their learned rabbins. Jehuda Ariel is better known by the title of *Leo de Modena*, born in the city whose name he bears. He had a great hatred for the Christians, which he did not conceal. His treatise of the customs and ceremonies of the Jews is every where esteemed, and hath been often translated. The copy before me is Englished by Simon Ockley, printed at London 1707. His book entituled, *The Mouth of the Lion*, is also valuable, because he hath there collected the words used by the rabbins that are neither Hebrew nor Chaldee, and is an useful glossary to such as desire to understand their modern doctors. He died at Venice in the year 1645, being seventy years old. Here also flourished Mordecai Karkos, in the year 1674, who disliked the Cabbala; and had the courage to write against the ten Sephiroths. Jacob Tzafalon taught at Ferrara. He was born at Rome in 1630, became a doctor of medicine, and wrote a book called *Precious Stones*, containing a collection of devout thoughts, to which are prefixed several prayers; one of which is for physicians when they go to visit their patients. Judas Asael was eminent for his preaching about the same time. He published *The Thrones of the House of David*, a cabbalistic book.

They

They reckon twelve or fifteen thousand Jews at Rome, governed by triumvirs, called *Memmorini*, or governors, and are changed every year, that they may not abuse their authority. The Jews and Christians here live so familiarly, that the latter make no scruple to go frequently to their synagogues, which they did in such numbers, that pope Innocent XI. was obliged to forbid it under pain of excommunication*, and a fine of twenty-five crowns. Here they have an academy, which they call *Talmud Thora*, the *Study of the Law*; and here they have their professors, among whom was Joseph Kimki in the year 1644. They have nine synagogues, who are consulted in doubtful cases by other Jews in Italy. Innocent XI. in the year 1685, gave them an instance of his protection; for when he persuaded the king of France to persecute his Protestant subjects to change their religion, he induced the Venetians to give liberty to some Jews whom they oppressed. This pope also renewed the observation of a weekly sermon, which Gregory XIII. had appointed for their conversion; but such was the management thereof, that it had little or no effect. In short, as to the state of the Jews in Italy, there are reckoned nine synagogues at Rome, nineteen in Campania, thirty-six in the marquisate of Ancona, twelve in the patrimony of St Peter, eleven at Bologna, thirteen at Romandiola; each of which are taxed seven hundred crowns a year, besides what may be squeezed from them upon extraordinary occasions. We don't quarrel the

church

* Bartolucci Bibl. Rabbinica.

church of Rome for tolerating the Jews; but this liberty ought to be greater, or at least equal to those who not only worship the same God, but also expect salvation thro' the same Redeemer, and only endeavour the reformation of abuses which have crept into that church.

In Germany, during the 15th and 16th centuries, the Jews have had their own share in calamities and trials. A great many of them were settled in Thuringia and Misnia: But the landgrave made them commonly buy their liberty with considerable sums. A new tax was imposed in the year 1401, and upon their refusing to pay it, they were committed to prison, and not released till they advanced a large ransom. The council of Basil, in the year 1434, extending its care far and near, did not think fit to neglect the Jews, who were numerous in that city, and over all Germany; for they commanded the prelates in all places where any of this nation remained, to chuse persons skilled in the languages to preach to them. The sovereigns were obliged to send all the circumcised in their territories to sermon, and heavy punishments were decreed against those who concealed them. At the same time people are forbidden to have any converse with them at table and in civil society, to take their women for nurses, or their men to be physicians or farmers, to hire them houses near churches, or in the body of cities; and to discover them more easily, they were obliged to wear a different habit from Christians. The council also made regulations concerning

† Concil. Basil. Sess. 19. apud Bionum, Tom. 4. Concil. parte, 1. p. m. 49.

ing these Jews who were converted. By baptism they acquired a privilege to enjoy their estates, except what they had robbed by usuries. They were made capable of offices in cities where they were baptized. They were forbidden to bury their dead, or to observe the Sabbath after their former way. The council also appointed terrible punishments against those who only pretended conversion, or should apostatize after it. The priests were to have a watchful eye over them, to carry them to the inquisitors, and to call in the secular arm to punish them with all rigour, as perfidious heretics. Here the council join temporals with spirituals, politics and capital punishments with ecclesiastic. These decrees caused no great alteration in Germany; Lewis X. of Bavaria, twenty years after this, expelled the Jews out of his dominions for his own interest^k; for he confiscated their estates, and built prisons and other public houses in the places that had belonged to them. The princes of Mecklemburgh made a cruel slaughter of them in their public city, in the year 1492. Thirty Jews were condemned to the fire. One of them threw himself into the river, to avoid the terror of the punishment, and women killed their own children. In Hungary they were accused of murdering a child, and drinking the blood; and put to the rack to force them to confess that their nation were accomplices in the crime^h. In Franconia, the people of Nuremberg drove them all from their city, where they had been rich and powerful, though their usuries and debaucheries had

^k Aventinus Annalium Bojorum, lib. 7. p. 313. ^h Bonfinius rerum Hungaricarum, Dec. 4. lib. 3.

had rendered them hateful; but they settled in a little neighbouring town, where they erected a synagogue in the year 1499.

At that time appeared the impostor David Leimlein. He durst not declare himself to be the Messiah, but maintained that he would come in the year 1500; and in this prospect persuaded the credulous Jews to pull down their ovens, because the year following they would eat unleavened bread at Jerusalem: But the Messiah not appearing conformable to his word, he declared that the sins of the people had retarded his coming. And the Jews assembled near Jerusalem, to celebrate a solemn fast to appease the wrath of God, and to hasten the coming of the deliverer. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Jews were expelled out of the bishopric of Cologne. Victor a Corbe, who deserted Judaism to turn a priest, extolled the bishop for plucking these tares out of the field. Perhaps it was fear of banishment that opened his eyes, and he too soon began to insult his brethren, a proselyte called Psephercorn, raised a terrible war among the learned, by persuading the emperor Maximilian I. about the year 1510, that all the Jewish books ought to be burnt, because they were full of lies, fables, and blasphemies against Christ. Perhaps his design was to oblige the Jews to ransom them with a great sum of money, of which he hoped to have a part. He had the art to gain two famous Cologne divines to his side. Hochstraten, who afterwards wrote against Luther, was one of them. But the affair making a noise, the emperor was willing to know the opinion of others, and particularly of John Reuch-

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lin a German, (called also Capnion, or la Fume; for Capnion in Greek, and la Fume in French, signify the same thing which we name smoke in English) who was famed for his skill in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, in law, and several other valuable parts of learning, and had been employed by the emperor and some princes of Germany in weighty affairs. His book *de Cabbala*, and others of his writings are still useful. He being consulted in this case, distinguished two sorts of books, one of which, contained the morality, doctrines, and rites of the Jews, and the other abounded with blasphemies against our Saviour. He consented to the burning of two Jewish books, viz. *Ninzechen* and *Toldos Jeschu*, as being of the last sort; but he told it was impossible to suppress all their books scattered over the universe, whereof one single copy was sufficient to produce new editions, which, the decrees of Germany not reaching to all parts where the Jews reside, could never hinder. Tho' good sense allowed him to speak in this manner, yet he was mightily persecuted for his opinion. To understand Greek and Hebrew in these days, was enough to make a man suspected of heresy. Cologne espoused its divines, the university of Paris declared for them, the elector of Mentz passed sentence against Reuchlin, and he had his book burnt at Cologne. He appealed to Rome, where the cause was superseded, and prosecution stopped. Psephercorn was afterwards found out to be a cheat, and Reuchlin got leave to die in peace in the year 1521.

The monks soon found out other business, by the excellent Martin Luther's preaching up the reformation

reformation in Saxony. The people began to be sensible of the barbarity and gross ignorance of the persecuting priests and friars: The Jews were no longer accused of murdering children, nor were miracles told of stolen and bloody hosties, by means whereof the rage of the people had been excited to spill so much blood. Protestants being better skilled in the languages than the monks and divines of past ages had been, and surmounting vulgar prejudices, studied the writings of the Rabbins, and defeated the Jews by their own weapons. Their example awakened the Popish divines, who, in the same method discovered the weakness of Jewish infidelity. The Jews did not love Luther: He had discovered many of their follies, and had hindered some Christian princes from receiving them into their dominions. They had their defenders, among whom we may reckon R. Isaac the son of Abraham, who wrote a book against Luther's disciples, in favour of Judaism¹, called *the Butress of Faith*. The Portuguese translated it into Spanish, and the African Jews have a great value for it. From thence the learned Wagenfil brought it, and translated it into Latin, with some notes. About the same time appeared another Jewish book, called *Nizzachon*, or, *the victory against the Christians*. Wagenfil published one of them², and the learned Shickhard hath translated and confuted another. New doctors also appeared in Transilvania, called demi-Jews. Among these was one Seidelius, who maintained, "That the Messias did not respect the Heathens, but only the Jews,

¹ R. Isaac Munimen fidei, apud Wagenfil. *Tela Ignea Satanzæ*. ² Ibid. part 2. *Nizzachon vetus*.

Jews, to whom he had been promised by the same title as the land of Canaan. Francis David was another of them, in regard he taught, "That Jesus Christ ought not to be worshipped, because the scriptures teach us to pray to God alone¹." Socinus wrote against him, and so did many Protestants on more solid grounds; for Francis David thought Christ should not be worshipped, because he considered him only as a mere man: And in this he argues more consequentially to his principles than Socinus, who ascribes worship to our Lord, and yet denies his divinity. But I conceive it is not enough to denominate a man a Jew, that he teaches a few principles that bear some resemblance to that sect, while he rejects their fundamental opinions: Therefore I leave these half Jews, and return to the true ones.

The Jews pretend to have been settled in the diocese of Mersburg ever since the taking of Jerusalem. Without disputing this pretence to antiquity, I shall only observe, that it did not secure them from bishop Adolphus's expelling them in the year 1514. But the emperor gave them protection in other parts of Germany. They had a famous man called Jakok, born at Wormes; another called Solomon Luriaⁿ, who wrote a book called *the Sea of Solomon*, and died in the year 1573; besides others in Poland. Bohemia maintained a great number of this nation. We have alreadyⁿ observed, that they performed such service to the Christians there against the barbarians, that they were allowed the privilege of a synagogue

¹ Francis. Davidis Defensio inter opera Socini, tom: 2. ^m Ganz Tschmach, p. 153,—155 ⁿ See p. 327.

gogue in that country in the eleventh century. In process of time they also erected a college there, of which R. Fulk was president, who began to exercise his scholars in a syllogistic way of disputations, like the Christians; but this method was not acceptable. A conflagration consumed many places in Bohemia; and the Jews, who never want enemies, were condemned to the flames as incendiaries: Those of them who escaped, were expelled, except ten persons, who found favour. But the real incendiaries being discovered before the end of the year, the Jews were recalled. Another storm fell upon them in the year 1558. They were suspected of making prayers at Prague against the Christians; whereupon their books were carried off to Vienna^o, and they were obliged to ransom them by a great sum of money. Here they had their famous doctors, particularly Judas Betfariel, otherwise Leo of Prague, who flourished in the year 1553, and founded a school in that city, in which he taught eleven years; but left it to go to Poland, where he died about the beginning of the seventeenth century, leaving behind him many books, namely one, concerning the redemption and eternity of Israel, wherein he assures his nation of the coming of the Messiah, and doubts not but he will render their prosperity eternal. Another of their doctors was called Abraham of Prague, who wrote on the Commentaries of Jarki, and died in the year 1540. Mordecai Japhi, or, the Fair, was also born at Prague; but retired to Poland, where he died in the year

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1611. He wrote a book, entitled, *the Royal Garment*. Lastly, Ganz the Jewish historian, whom we have often quoted, was born at Prague, and there composed his *Stem of David*, or his Chronology (now before me) from the creation of the world till the year of our Lord 1592. Though he hath often quoted Josephus, and the doctors of his own nation who preceded him, yet he has corrected several of their faults, and in many things is more exact. He hath made use of many Christian authors; and though he is not very lucky in his choice, he is singular in this, that the Jewish doctors, except himself, slight foreign historians. At that time the Jews built a synagogue at Prague equalling those of Poland and Jerusalem: And as Mordecai Meusel had liberally contributed to this great edifice, as well as to the relief of the poor in Bohemia and Poznania, Ganz gives him great eulogies; for he calls him "the wall and basis of the school, the head of liberal souls, the father of the poor, the oak of the people, and the love of the brethren;" and with this ends his chronicle. Moravia had also its synagogue; but they endured a cruel persecution in the year 1574^p. The professors of this religion were sentenced to the flames, and abundance of them destroyed, before complaints could be brought to the emperor Maximilian, who pitied their case, and put a stop to these barbarities. They suffered also in Franconia; for some houses of the city of Bamberg being burnt, the Jews were accused of setting them on fire: And

^p Bartolocci bibl. Rabbinica, tom 3.

And at the same time the people plundered their houses without enquiring into the truth of the accusation. At Bonn, Shenck having taken the town for the Dutch in the year 1588, the Jews^a complain, that they were unmercifully distinguished in the plunder. But it mitigated their sorrow a little, that the Duke of Brunswick, in the year 1592, not only granted them liberty of conscience in his state, but also a freedom of trade in the Lower Saxony; so that there were few places in all Germany but where they trafficked at the end of the sixteenth century.

Though the reformation was hindered from making any considerable progress in Poland by the zeal of the priests in the seventeenth century, yet the Jews enjoyed an entire liberty of conscience in that kingdom, which is continued to this very day. There they are spread in great numbers, and there they have their academies, synagogues, and houses of judgment. Hither the youth is sent to study who desire to be acquainted with the Talmud, and the traditions; and hence proceed learned rabbins. One of them named Salomon embraced Christianity in the year 1656, and published thirty-seven demonstrations against the religion he had quitted^r. He acknowledged that the Messiah was come; "and that if God had given such sensible marks of his presence in the ark, which was only a wooden chest, we ought for a stronger reason to believe that he had been united to human flesh, of which the ark of the covenant was only

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a type.

^a Ganz Tsemach cum notis Vorstii, in 4to, Lugd. Bat. 1644 p. 160
^r R. Johan Salomon, Demonstrationes xxxvii. cum historia colloquii cum Joanne Botthao.

a type. These words (cried the rabbin) are sweeter than honey, and penetrate my heart."

Hamburgh is a little Jerusalem for a multitude of Jews; but their synagogue is at Altena, under the jurisdiction of the king of Denmark, who gives them also a sanctuary at Gluckstadt. A Jew, named Dom Rodriguez de Castro, physician to Christina, queen of Sweden, wrote two treatises, one concerning the infirmities of women, and the other entitled *Medico Politico*. A learned rabbin there, called Esdras, or Esdras, having embraced Christianity, converted many of his brethren. The learned Dr. Kidder who corresponded with him by letters, says, "that there have not been so many conversions since the time of miracles as Esdras made of the Jews at Hamburgh about the year 1690." Of means to carry on this design we shall speak more afterwards.

The emperor Ferdinand III. granted them great privileges at Prague, because when that city was besieged by Carolus Gustavus of Sweden in 1648, they defended themselves with surprising fidelity. There rabbi Chagim, or Joachim, acted the part of a base dissembler; for after a considerable robbery committed by him, he embraced Christianity to wipe off the scandal; and to gain the greater credit, he wrote a virulent book against the Jews, and went to the emperor's court where he got protection. But finding his fortunes like to sink, he robbed the Imperial treasury with the assistance of two other Jews. At last he with his associate criminals being seized and condemned to death, while he was on the scaffold, he threw off the mask of being a Christian, pro-

professing, "that he lived and died a Jew, and that if he had received the sacrament a few hours before, they might find it in his urinal." In the same place there was a glaring instance of their hatred of the Christians; for one Lazarus, an inhabitant of Prague, understanding that his son desired baptism, fell upon him and killed him. He was committed to prison, where with equal wickedness he strangled himself. As the Jews hate the Christians, so it must be owned that the Christians at Prague often intermix the toleration given to them with violence. They often also meet with affronts at Vienna. They support themselves in Servia, Croatia, Moldavia, Wallachia, and in most of the rich cities in Germany and Hungary. Their settlement at Aufburg is ancient; for Benjamin of Tudela, in the twelfth century, tells there was at Asbock a synagogue kept up of his nation of rich merchants, who were doctors and scholars. Though they have been thrust out of Nuremberg, yet they are spread abroad in the neighbouring country towns, and may enter the city under a guard. At Wormes they affirm, that many ages ago the name Jehovah was carved on the top of their synagogue; therefore they suffer the spiders to spin their webs, without daring to brush them down, for fear of blotting the sacred name, which they imagine supports the building. But the French convinced them of the contrary, by demolishing the synagogue, when they had taken the city in the last war. A modern traveller reckons thirty thousand Jews at Francfort, (perhaps he amplifies the account) and most of them are reduced to mean drudgeries. They had a famous Cabbalist at Spire, in the middle of the last century,

tury, named Nathan de Spira. He published *the Good of the Land*, and another volume of profundities, named *Megilloth Hamucoth*, being a Cabalistic commentary upon some verses in Deuteronomy. But one of the most famous Jewish doctors that Germany produced in the last century, was Isaac Loria, author of a metaphysical introduction to the Jewish Cabbala, where are many strange notions about the creation, which Dr. More was charmed with.

Of all the states in Europe there is none where the Jews live more quietly than in Holland. They enrich themselves by trade, and by the lenity of the government they possess their acquisitions without fear. Here are two sorts of Jews; one are Germans, and the other come from Portugal and Spain; who are divided about ceremonies, and hate one another, as if the essentials of religion were concerned. Their first synagogue at Amsterdam was called *the house of Jacob*, because that was the name of the donor. They raised another synagogue which they called *Neve Shalom, the house of Peace*. These houses laboured jointly in a collection of prayers, but they could not agree on it. A third synagogue was formed in the year of our Lord 1618, under the conduct of David Pardo, and was called Beth-Israel, or, *the house of Israel*. The schism, which no doubt did abate their piety and devotion, continued about twenty years; and then the three synagogues united into one in the year 1639, and they gave to this new house the title of *Talmud Thora, the Study or Science of the Law*. They have been careful to found schools

also,

also, one whereof is named *Kether Thora*, the *Crown of the Law*, which hath been governed by learned men: And to shew the prosperity of the nation in this great city, they built a stately edifice, and consecrated it in the year 1675, celebrating the solemnity with a collection of sermons spoke on that occasion.

Manasseh ben Israel, one of the most learned doctors this synagogue produced, was of a Spanish original, of the house of Abravanel. At eighteen years of age he taught the Talmud with such approbation, as drew upon him abundance of jealousies; but he contemned them, and went on with his study. At twenty-eight years of age, he published the first part of his *Conciliator* on the *Pentateuch*, which he afterwards finished. After this he composed problems on the creation, which made him to be called a divine author. He wrote also on the resurrection, wherein he proves the immortality of the soul, and its operations, not only while united to the body, but also after its separation. And in this treatise, printed after his death, he defends the transmigration. He wrote also an abridgment of the Mishna, under this title, *the Treasures of Judgment*, his *Spes Israelis*, and some other treatises. He endeavoured to make profit by the troubles of England under Oliver Cromwell, and to procure a settlement for his nation in that kingdom, but died at Amsterdam in the year 1652, leaving a son, who inherited his press, and employed it in printing some of his father's works.

Joseph Athias, a native of Spain, taught first at Hamburgh, and from thence came to Amsterdam, where he printed a Hebrew Bible in 1667, much esteemed.

esteemed. Professor Lewsden was concerned in the edition. The Jews boast that it was made upon two very ancient manuscripts, the one of Hillel, the other writ in the year 1299, in which was the great Massorah. Mr Vander Hoogh has given a new edition, which is by some counted more exact. He prefers the correction of the Massoreths to those of any other, because besides that he thinks them more judicious, he is also persuaded that they were made by Esdras and the doctors of the Great Synagogue: All the members thereof (three of them being prophets) out-lived their work forty years. He distinguished the different readings of the oriental and occidental Jews, and observes the sections of the Pentateuch. Athias's *Treasure of Precepts and Judgments* was printed first at Venice, with the approbation of all the Cachanim or sages of that country. He thought himself obliged to handle this subject, because the most useful of all books are those that teach the fear of God. The preceding doctors had composed such precepts; but the Spanish dispersion had destroyed a great part of their works: Besides, they wrote in Arabic, which was then better understood than it is now. Isaac Aboab, who came from Basil, was a preacher highly esteemed among them, and also a great Cabbalist. He translated the writing of another Cabbalist, called *Irria's Gate to Heaven*, from Spanish to Hebrew, and it hath been since rendered into Latin. He published a paraphrase on the Pentateuch, and sung Moses's triumph in heroic verse. Musaphia was another learned man among them, who commented on the Jerusalem Talmud. He studied a subject that was as obscure; for he proposed

proposed to explain the flux and reflux of the sea. Lastly he composed an Hebrew dictionary in a new and easy method.

We must not forget Benedict de Spinoza, who made himself famous by a new invented atheism. He was born at Amsterdam in 1632, of a creditable family of Portuguese Jews; but had no riches by his father; and as for himself, he always lived in poverty. In order to support himself he learned the trade of polishing glasses and making spectacles. He had studied the philosophy of Monf. Des Cartes, which gave him a dislike to the principles and sciences of the rabbins, finding no demonstrations in them. When the Jews observed that he neglected their Sabbath and synagogue, they endeavoured to detain him by a pension of a thousand livres; which he refused, and thereby incurred their hatred; which they sufficiently declared, by hiring a ruffian to dagger him: But the blow reached only his coat, which he kept in memory of the deliverance. But not thinking himself safe at Amsterdam, where the Jews were numerous, he retired to Leyden¹, and afterwards to the Hague. The Jews thundered out the greater excommunication against him; but he protested against it, as done in his absence, signifying the same by a writing in Spanish, addressed to the rabbins of the synagogue. He published first *A Geometrical Demonstration of Des Cartes's Principles*, and then his *Meditations*. At last appeared his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* in the year 1670, in which book he formed a new system of atheism, namely,

¹ Coleru's Life of Spinoza. Bale's Dictionary on Spinoza. Basnage's History of the Jews, lib. 7. cap. 32.

namely, *That there is one numerical substance, and that the material world is the only necessary existing Being.* This notion is very unphilosophical and inconsistent: For if matter subsist of itself, which is the most excellent of all perfections, and includes all the rest, then it must be also independent, almighty, eternal, immovable, and in a word infinitely perfect. But it is inconceivable, that matter, which is divisible, corruptible, unactive, and void of understanding, should be endowed with the most noble of all properties, and from which all others proceed. And as to one numerical substance, it is certain that the world is composed of innumerable substances, really distinct from one another, and that the least atom can subsist tho' other parts of matter were destroyed. To return to the life of Spinoza: He is said to have refused a professor's chair at Heidelberg, lest it should hinder him to vent his pernicious principles; tho' I will not affirm that ever he had the offer. At last he died in Holland in the year 1677, in the forty-fourth year of his age.

Don Balthazar Orobio, born of Jewish parents in Spain, a famous physician, tho' when in the prison of the inquisition, and when on the rack, he had owned himself a Christian; yet when he came to Amsterdam, he received circumcision, joined the synagogue, and opposed the spreading of Spinoza's sect. He maintained a dispute for Judaism with the learned Philip Limborch, professor among the Remonstrants at Amsterdam^u, and died there soon after the conference was held
and

^u Phil. a Limborch, *Amica collatio cum Judæo*, in 4to 1687.

and printed. There have been also other learned Jews in other cities of Holland; as, David Cohen de Lara, Huzziel's disciple, who wrote at Rotterdam a book called *The City of David*, in which he proves the analogy of the Hebrew with the Greek and other languages. Lastly, Juda Leon composed a valuable piece at Middleburg, in which treatise he describes Solomon's temple, and also Moses's tabernacle and the cherubims; and likewise wrote an explication of the Psalms.

To sum up all: The Jews are dispersed in most parts of the habitable world, not only in those we have been discoursing of in the foregoing history, but also in the East Indies, in Cochin, in Malabar, in China and in America, as well as in Europe and in Africa, under Infidel and under Christian princes. In Spain, in Portugal, and in some parts of France, many of them dissemble their religion, where they dare not avow it. It is impossible exactly to number the persons of whom this nation is at present composed; but we have reason to believe, that there are still about three millions of people who profess the Jewish religion scattered up and down the several nations of the world. They still consider themselves with their ancient haughtiness as the people of God, and expect that God will raise them above all the nations of the earth; tho' they dare not fix the time, having been so often disappointed.

I shall now conclude this chapter with some remarkable occurrences concerning the Jews, down to the present time. In the seventh volume of the Jesuits Letters, we have one from father Jean Paul Gozani, bearing date at Cai-fum-fou, the capital

pital of the province of Honan in China, Nov. 5. 1704, where he gives * account of a synagogue of Jews in that remote part of the world.

But that which I would mainly notice is, some remarkable conversions of a few of the Jewish nation, as a prelude to the comfortable times, when there shall be *one shepherd and one sheepfold*. I have in the preceding history given account of most of these converts that were remarkable, particularly of the memorable conversion of a considerable number of them at Hamburgh, by the ministry and instruction of Dr Esdras †. I have now before me the Narrative of the conversion of Shalome ben Shalomoh, delivered before Mr Thomas Humfrey's congregation in Rosemary-lane, London, September 29, 1699, reprinted at Boston 1701, and well attested by several ministers. The whole is too long to insert here. The sum thereof is, "I Shalome ben Shalomoh, was born of Jewish parents (my father's name was Shalomoh, and my mother's Leah) circumcised the eight day at Posnania in Poland, where I lived till I was twelve years of age, at which time it pleased God that all our family, myself excepted, died of a great plague. Being thus destitute, I had an inclination to travel; and in my travels, a boy in the duke of Brandenburg's army said to me, why do you not turn a Christian? A Christian, said I, why, think you I will worship images? (for such was my ignorance, that I thought all Christians were Papists.) There are, said he, two sorts of Christians, Protestants and Papists: We, said he, who are Protestants, believe no other Saviour

* Lettres edifiantes & curieuses par Missionnaires de la Campagne de Jesus, Recueil 7. p. 4.

† See p. 408.

Saviour but Jesus Christ alone, nor worship images. Well, said I, carry me to a Minister, who accordingly brought me to one belonging to the duke of Brandenburg, who opened to me the doctrine concerning Jesus Christ, from the five Books of Moses, particularly from Gen. iii. 15, Numb. xxi. 9. and from Psal. ii. 7. Psal. cx. 1. Psal. xxii. 16, — 18. Isaiah ix. 6. Gen. xlix. 10. and explained to me other principles of religion. I saw that Jesus Christ was the promised Messiah, tho' as yet I had nothing more than the notion of things; yet, as the Eunuch said to Philip, Acts viii. 36. so said I, *What doth hinder me to be baptised?* and I was baptised at Berlin in Brandenburg. The duke stood my Godfather. I became not a Christian for silver nor gold, but was constrained thereto by the mighty power of Jesus Christ. After this I was recommended to a minister in the city of Rhynberg on the Rhine, by whom I was further notionally confirmed in the Christian faith; and from that time had a mind to travel to England, where, under the denomination of a Christian, I lived a great while revelling in all manner of wickedness, committing iniquity with greediness. As I grew older I thought it was high time to reform, knowing I must *one day give an account of the deeds done in the body*. I then resolved to lead a new life, and venture on the mercy of God through Jesus Christ. I made many resolutions to live better, and broke them as fast. Terrors of conscience pursued me, I cried out, *O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of death*. I pleaded for the power of Christ, *Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make clean*, Matth. viii. 2. I saw my sin so black, that
I rolled

I rolled myself in the dust. I prayed, as sensible of my own insufficiency, that God would by his Spirit teach me to pray. I resisted temptations my inclination was bent to; frequented the assemblies of God's people, tho' whether to go I was at a loss. At length I came among the Quakers; but alas! there I found nothing to my satisfaction. At last I was directed to Mr Humfreys; this proved a happy day to my soul. He told me the Lord accepts Jew and Gentile, Gal. iii. 28. *There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for we are all one in Christ Jesus.* I read John xvii. 26. *Father, I have declared unto them thy name, and I will declare it, that the love wherewith thou hast loved me may be in them, and I in them.* I thought here is an open door to come to God through Jesus Christ. It came on my soul with such power, that it appeared to me as if a door had been set open to any to enter who will. And now I would give my body to be burnt; yea, had I thousand lives I would lay them down, rather as be an unbelieving Jew; for, saith Christ, *Unless you believe that I am he, that is, the Messiah, you shall die in your sins,* John viii. 24. Believing is quite another thing than I took it to be. *He that comes to God must believe that he is,* Heb. xi. 6. every way such as the Scripture describes him to be; that all his attributes are highly advanced, and highly exalted in our salvation; that the law is magnified and made honourable, Isaiah xlii. 21. by the obedience of Jesus Christ, God-man, more than possibly it could have been by the perfect obedience of sinless Adam. He must believe that what Christ has done and suffered as our surety-righteousness in

in our room and stead, is the only righteousness whereby we are justified before God, and accepted by him; and that this very righteousness becomes ours, pleadable by the divine act of imputation. Here you see one in whom the covenant of Abraham is fulfilled, as in all those who believe in Jesus Christ. I am afraid that my forefathers (tho' I must judge charitably of them) are gone into the pit of destruction; but I am a brand pluck out of the fire, Zech. iii. 2. I know, and am persuaded that Jesus Christ loved me, and gave himself for me, and that by his death and resurrection my soul is saved." After several questions and satisfying answers given to them by Mr Shalomoh, according to the way of Independent Congregations, he was received as a member of their church, and admitted to the Lord's Table.

The conversion of John Xeres is also memorable and well attested, as follows. "We underwritten, merchants, trading to Africa, do hereby certify, That each of us having lived in those parts, did then, as we do now know personally Jonah ben Jacob Xeres, who was born in Saphia, a sea-port of that coast. His parents being Hebrews, were reputed honest substantial people, who educated him in the Jewish religion, in the knowlege of the Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldee tongues. He lived in that country, a Jew, to the age of twenty-five, of a sober conversation, and honest in his dealing. Having had some doubts, through conversation with our people, that the Messiah was come, he sailed for England eighteen months ago to receive full satisfaction; and we recommended him to Dr Allix. Done at London, May 28, 1709, and signed
by

by Peter Fleuriot, Samuel Robison, John Lodington, John Adams, Robert Colmore, and Thomas Colman. Another attestation follows: "These certify, that on several discourses had with the fore-mentioned Jonah ben Jacob Xeres, I have found him well acquainted with the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and other Jewish and Talmudic learning, so as he was very ready on the objections the Jews make to the doctrine, divinity and office of our Saviour. But he being endowed with very good parts, I was soon able to satisfy him of the truth, so as having examined the material controversies, he has declared to me and other friends his desire to renounce the errors of his education in the Jewish religion, and to embrace the profession of the Christian faith. Witness my hand, 30th July 1709, PETER ALLIX. D. D." The said Xeres being baptized, wrote a book containing his reasons for leaving the Jewish, and embracing the Christian religion, which I have read, and it is a learned and valuable performance in its kind.

There is an excellent converted Jew, ^{or} living, I suppose, at this day in New-England, concerning whom I have seen a Letter from Mr. Benjamin Colman, Minister of the Gospel at Boston, to a dear friend of mine, bearing date, Boston, April 10. 1722, which I shall here insert. "Sir, I am obliged to write to you again, though I have nothing new to inform you of, but of the baptism of a learned and pious Jew a fortnight ago, at Cambridge, in our college-hall, by Mr. Appleton, Pastor there. He is a great Master and Critic in the Hebrew tongue, a most ready scribe, apt to teach and communicate

communicate his knowledge. His name is Rabbi Judah Monis, now in the thirty-fifth year of his age, a very sober man, and of a good conversation. His knowledge is great in the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, and also in the Writings of the Rabbins. He both speaks and writes Hebrew with a perfect ease and readiness, and his writing is as even as print. He wrote out the Books of Moses for a synagogue in Holland some years ago, and has sojourned with us here several years; and being gradually enlightened by study and discourse with us before his baptism, he answered the objections and arguments of the Jews against our Christian faith, and then solemnly professed his own belief in Christ as the true Messiah, and the dedication of himself to him as the alone Saviour. Mr. President Livent, head of our College, required me to open the solemnity with prayer, and to give the audience a sermon; which I did, from these words of our Saviour, John v. 46. *Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me, for I wrote of me.* Mr. Monis hath already wrote two Treatises, one on the divinity of Christ, the other on the doctrine of the trinity*. He speaks but broken English. He hath turned the Assembly's Catechism into pure Hebrew, which I think was never done before, and he seems to be much set upon the doing of something considerable by the will of God for the conversion of his nation. I thought, Sir, it would not be unacceptable to you, to be informed of this rare and singular occurrence among us. Mr. Monis hath taught more

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Hebrew

* These Treatises I see printed at Boston, 1722, with Mr. Colman's Sermon at R. Monis's Baptism.

Hebrew here this last year, than, perhaps, has been learned these twenty years before. — When you pray for the conversion of that once beloved people, as I believe you daily do, I ask a remembrance for Monis, whom you will put among our Christian brethren. How far he may be useful among us, or what may be in the womb of Providence, time must shew; but many of us are not without hope. — I have seen Christian Letters from this learned convert, in Hebrew, to his correspondent in this country, with which I shall not trouble my reader, but proceed.

Moses Marcus is another learned Jew that hath lately been converted to the Christian faith. In the preface of a book which he hath lately printed^a, he gives the following account of himself. “I am descended of a good family, well known throughout Germany. My father and mother are of the city of Hamburgh, and now live in London, in the greatest splendor imaginable for private persons. I was born in the year 1701. My parents took the greatest care possible of me: And I being their eldest and first-born son, and thereby entitled to a double portion by the Mosaic law, was the more esteemed; especially when I was about eight or nine years of age, my father observing that I took pleasure in learning, bestowed a tutor on me, that when I should come to be master in Jewish divinity, I might take orders. I was quickly engaged in the Talmuds and Traditions, to which I applied with some diligence, and made such progress,

^a Intituled, *The principal Motives and Circumstances that induced Moses Marcus to leave the Jewish, and embrace the Christian Faith*, printed at London, 1724.

progress, as I became the darling of my father's heart. When I was about thirteen, my father went to India, leaving me to the particular care of my mother and my tutor, desiring she would not let me want any education to qualify me for a gentleman and a scholar, and ordered me to be sent to Hamburgh for these improvements. About a year after my father's departure for England, I was sent thither, with a very able servant, under the care of an uncle. There I was about three years, in which time I became well skilled in the Hebrew and French, and attained several other qualifications, especially in the Jewish Talmuds and traditions, so as I was respected by all that knew me. But being young, and not fit to take degrees, my mother sent for me home, and received me with all tender affection; and I got kind letters from my father in India. I staid in England about a twelvemonth, and then went to Hamburgh, where I took a degree called Chaber, by which I was entitled to be called Rabbi. At that time I became acquainted with several German protestant divines, with whom I conversed about the differences between the Jewish and Protestant faith. In some articles they convinced me; in others I could not be satisfied. The kind treatment, the charity and piety I found among them, made me look more narrowly into the matter, and weigh it with consideration. I then read the New Testament, and compared it with the Old. I found many prophecies concerning the Messiah fulfilled, and that the time of his coming expired above seventeen hundred years since, and believed, that if the Jewish pretended Messiah should come, no body

dy could say he came to fulfil the inspired scriptures. I thanked God who opened mine eyes, taking off that deluding cloud which had made me wander so long in darkness, and could not rest till I embraced the truth. My father returned from India in the year 1751, having been there about ten years, and brought with him immense riches. I being then at Hamburgh, he sent over for me; and when I came, he embraced me with all the tender love and affection imaginable. But in all my earthly happiness, the conscience of my errors in religion was a continual bitterness to me. I therefore conversed with several reverend divines, who gave me a further insight into the grounds of salvation. Hereon I could not but acquaint my father that we were in the greatest error imaginable. At which discourse he was surprised, and intreated me with the most endearing words to desist from that notion, for it would ruin me both in soul and body; and if I should turn Christian, he would not allow me a single farthing, but would rather spend a thousand pounds at law against me, and would also seek means that I should be destroyed: And once he did almost effect it, by striking a case-knife at me; but I avoided the blow. Sometime after he sent for me, and told me, if I would desist from my notions, he would settle on me five hundred a year, besides other advantages. But when I argued with him about the truth of the Christian faith, his passion ran so high, that he would allow me no money, and ordered his servants to do nothing for me, or if they did, he would immediately turn them away. Upon New-year's day 1722-3 I was baptiz-
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ed into Christ's holy church. The Jews hearing thereof, especially my father's relations, forced me into a tavern, and offered me a very large sum of money, if I would go to Holland or Germany, and there turn Jew again. I answered them I would rather perish than do it: And if it were not for a worthy gentleman with whom I at present live, and who hath subsisted me under my calamities, I must unavoidably have perished. Alas! there is no encouragement here for converts from Judaism: I do not say so for my own sake, but for the sake of others, that I might rejoice in their conversion.—Now, instead of living in carnal ease and pleasures, I have exchanged this for great troubles and afflictions: But I comfort myself in a gracious God, and a good cause. *"For in God is my trust. I fear not what man can do to me. Though father and mother forsake me, yet the Lord will gather me. Unto thee, O Lord, do I lift up my soul: My God, I trust in thee; let me not be confounded, let not mine enemies rejoice over me."*

I have inserted this account of Moses Marcus's conversion more fully, because it is the usual custom of the Jews to do all the mischief to these of their nation who embrace Christianity that possibly they can invent, which the wisdom of Christian legislators should provide against.

I shall also notice what we are told of some Jews converted to Christianity by the church of Rome; particularly we are informed from Vienna, March 24, 1722, that a Jew of Bamberg in Bohemia, after having several years reflected on the Talmud; that this book which is held by them as an oracle, is full of errors, formed a design of turning Chris-

tian. The Jews of his synagogue having discovered his intention, to frighten him from so doing, found means to spirit away his wife and his son, for whom he had been in vain searching for four years together, till he found them lately in Hungary, where his son hath been baptized; and the father having got himself instructed in the chief articles of the Christian faith, received baptism, together with his wife, in the conventual church of the monks of St Francis; the prince and princess of Schwartzemberg standing godfather and godmother. An infant daughter of the said Jew was baptized the next day.

From Vienna, April 26. 1724, we are told, that a certain Jew, forty-seven years old, after many conferences with the fathers of St Francis, hath been convinced, by comparing the Catholic Bible with the Hebrew, of the coming, birth, and death of the Messiah; and having been fully instructed in the articles of the Roman Catholic faith, was christened last Sunday, and had for godfather the Count de Herbeistein.

From Rome of January 28, 1725, we are informed, that on the 26th, though it was an exceeding rainy day, the Pope went to Minerva's church, where he performed the ceremony of baptizing a Jew newly converted to Christianity. Anibai Albani the Cardinal chamberlain, stood godfather; and he was christened by the name of Clement Maria: After which the Pope himself confirmed him with the holy cream, celebrated a private mass, and gave him the sacrament with his own hands. The Pope did not desire that he should come to the font with the white habit, which is worn

worn by new converts, but staid till he had poured out the water upon him, and till he came to these words in the ritual, "receive the white habit," &c. And then he gave him a pension of eighty crowns. The Jew is of Urbino, and had a brother who turned Christian in the pontificate of Clement XI. And from Ukrania, that an entire synagogue of almost 3000 Jews had been baptized there in the year 1727. But we cannot depend much on the sincerity of these converts in the Roman church.

To conclude this chapter, we may relate what Captain Alexander Hamilton, in his new account of the East Indies^a, tells, "of a republic of Jews once so numerous, that they could reckon about 80,000 families, but at present are reduced to four thousand, who have a synagogue at Couchin, not far from the king's palace, about two miles from the city, in which are kept their records, engraven on copper-plates in Hebrew characters, so as they can shew their history from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar to this time. They declare themselves to be of the tribe of Manasseh, a part whereof was by order of that haughty conqueror Nebuchadnezzar, carried to the easternmost province of his large empire, which it seems reached as far as Cape Comorin: Which journey 20,000 of them travelled in three years, from their setting out of Babylon. When they arrived in the Malabar country, they found the inhabitants very civil to strangers, giving them liberty of conscience in religious matters, and the free use of reason and industry in

^a New account of the East Indies, printed at Edinburgh, vol. 1. 31,
—323,

in oeconomy. There they increased both in number and riches, till in process of time, by policy or wealth, they purchased the little kingdom of Cranganore; and there being one family among them much esteemed for wisdom, power, and riches, two of the sons of that family were chosen by their elders and senators to govern the commonwealth, and reign jointly. Concord, the strongest bond of society, was in a short time broken. Ambition took place; for one of the brothers invited his colleague to a feast, picked a quarrel with his guest, and basely killed him, thinking to reign alone: But the defunct leaving a son of a bold spirit, killed the Fratricide, and so the state fell again into a democracy, which still continues among the Jews here: But the lands have for many ages recurred back into the hands of the Malabars; and poverty and oppression have made many apostatise."

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